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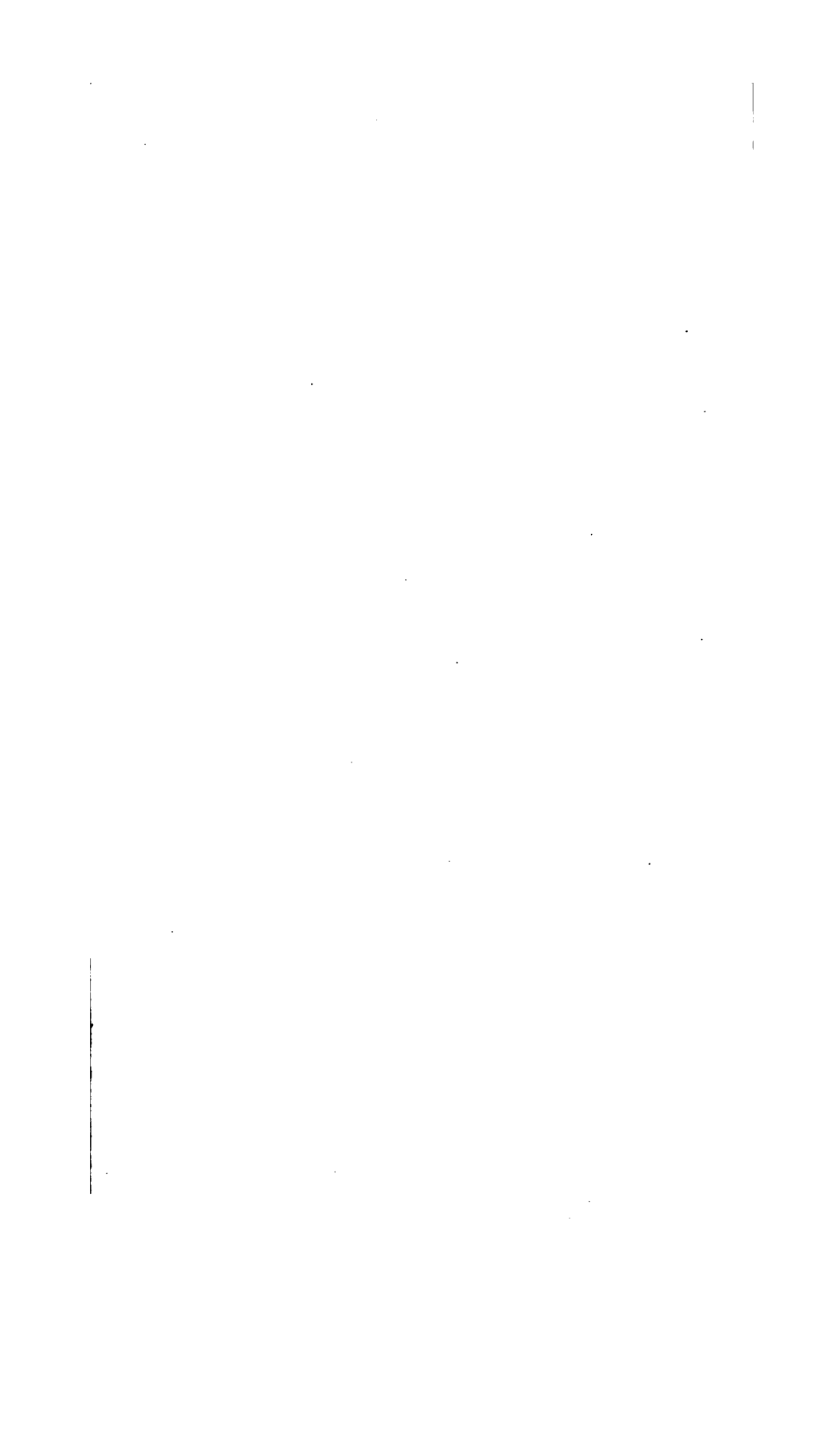
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1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses of the members of the committee.







From a Painting by Rigaud.

J. J. Walker sculp.

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French

THE
A G E
O F
L O U I S XIV.

TO WHICH IS ADDED, AN
A B S T R A C T
O F T H E
A G E of L O U I S XV.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST GENEVA EDITION OF
French, M.A.
M. DE VOLTAIRE,
WITH
NOTES, CRITICAL AND EXPLANATORY,
By R. GRIFFITH, Esq.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED FOR FIELDING AND WALKER, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

MDCCLXXIX.

1779

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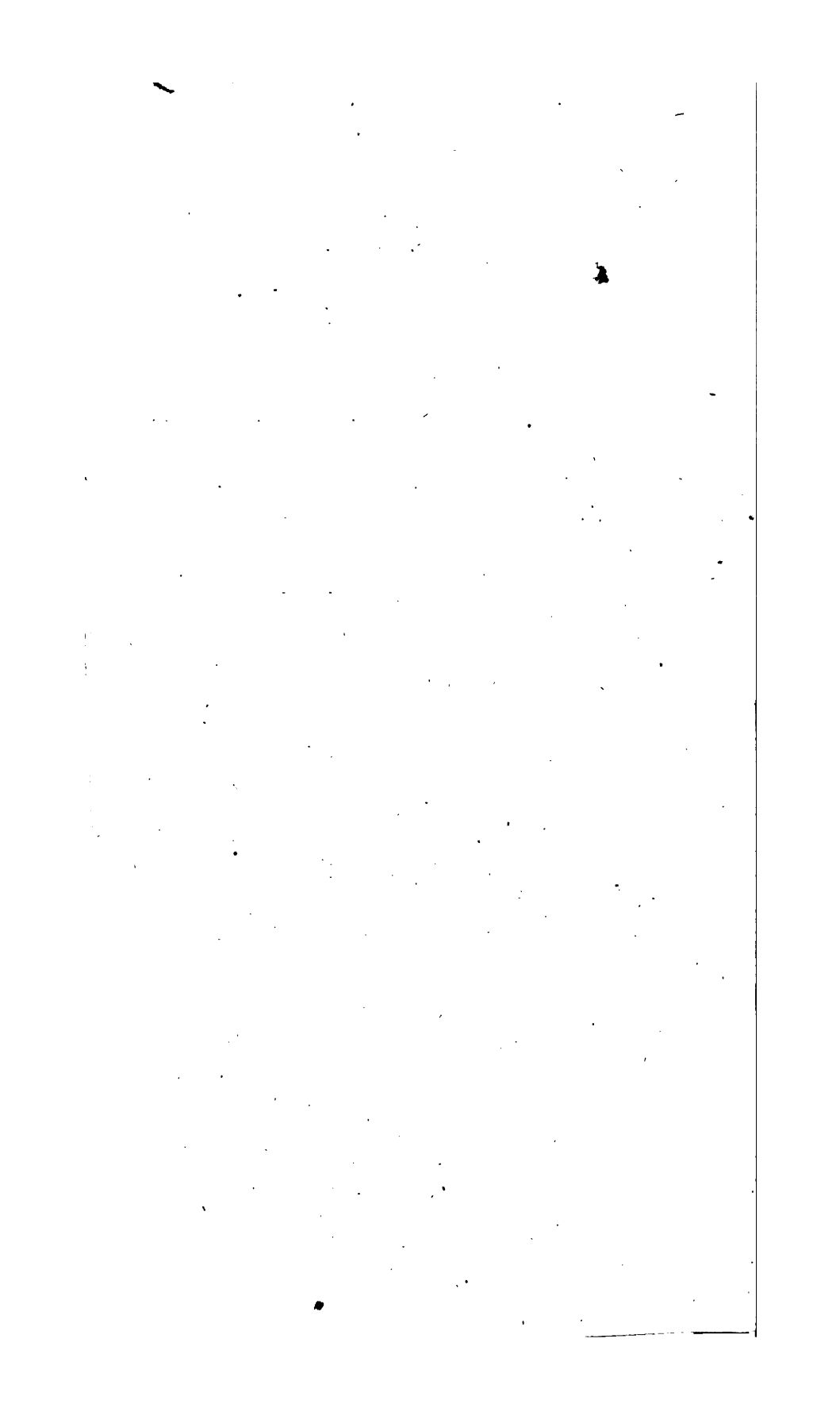
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T H E

AUTHOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

IT has been judged proper to begin this New Edition of the AGE of LOUIS XIV. with a list of the Royal Family, and of all the Princes of the Blood of his time. This is followed by one of all the cotemporary Sovereigns, the Marshals of France, the Admirals and Generals of the Gallies, and of the Ministers and Secretaries of State who served under this Monarch.

After these is given an Alphabetical Catalogue of the learned Men and Artists in every branch. This preliminary information is a kind of Dictionary, in which the reader may select the subjects he chooses to render himself master of the great events which happened in this reign.



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E R R A T A

☛ All Notes without Signatures are the Translator's.

- Page xiv. the cue word wanting.
P. xviii and xix. dele the first x.
P. xxxii. the cue word mistaken.
P. xliii. l. 13. for *Plauge*, r. *Plague*.
P. l. last line, for *Genixs*, r. *Genius*.
P. lxxix. l. 8. r. *hopeless*.
P. xcvi. line 17, for *LA* read *LE*.
P. cxxxiii. l. 14, after *day*, r. *peruse*.
P. clvi. l. last but 3, r. 1588.
P. clvii. l. last but 2, before *Perrault*, r. *Charles*.
P. clxxii. before the note, change the asterisk to †.
P. 30. l. 9, for *viſtor*, r. *viator*.
P. 47. l. 24, dele the second *of*.
P. 98. l. 25, for *their*, r. *its*.
P. 108. l. first of the note, for *in*, r. *is*.
P. 140. l. 14, for *bear*, r. *bare*.
P. 155. at the end of the first Paragraph, dele the asterisk; and change
† to * in the note.
P. 157. l. 28, after *had*, r. *not*.
P. 193. l. 22, for *first*, r. *Confessor*.

T H E

A G E of L O U I S X I V .

An AUTHENTIC LIST of the CHILDREN
of LOUIS XIV.

*Of the PRINCES of the ROYAL FAMILY of FRANCE,
in his Time, the cotemporary SOVEREIGNS, the MAR-
SHALS, the MINISTERS, and the most distinguished
WRITERS and ARTISTS that flourished in that Age.*

L OUIS XIV. had but one wife, Maria-Theresa of Austria, born in 1638. (the same year with her husband) only daughter of Philip IV. King of Spain, of his first marriage with Elizabeth of France, and sister to Charles II. and Margaret-Theresa, whom Philip IV. had by his second alliance with Mary-Anne of Austria. This second marriage of Philip IV. is somewhat remarkable. Mary-Anne of Austria was his niece, and had been affianced in 1648, to Philip-Balthazar, Infant of Spain; so that he wedded at once both his niece, and the betrothed of his own son.

The nuptials of Louis XIV. were celebrated the ninth of June 1660. Maria-Theresa died in 1683. The Historians of that time strained hard to say something extraordinary of this princess. They have invented a story, that a Nun having asked her, if she had not laid herself

a

herself out to attract the admiration of the young men of distinction at her father's Court, she replied, "No, for there were no Kings among them."

They have not given us the name of this same Nun, whom they have thus represented as both impertinent and indiscreet. The Infantas were not permitted to converse with any of the young men of the Court; and when Charles I. King of England, then Prince of Wales, went to Madrid to espouse the daughter of Philip III. he was not allowed even to speak to her. This answer of Maria-Theresa seems besides to suppose, that if there had been Kings at her father's Court, she would have taken pains to attach their affections. Such a reply might have suited the sister of Alexander, but corresponded not with the modest simplicity of Maria-Theresa*. Historians often take the liberty of making princes say things they never either said, or ought to have said.

The only issue of this marriage, that lived, was Louis the Dauphin, intitled *Monseigneur*, who was born November 1, 1661, and died April 14, 1711. For a long time before his death, the following prophecy about him was current in France: "Son of a King, father of a King, but never a King himself." The event appeared to favour the credulity of those who lend faith to predictions; but this sentence was nothing more than a repetition of what had been said before of the father of Philip de Valois, and was founded, besides, on the health and vigour of Louis XIV. which promised fairer for long life, than those of his son.

* A similar story is recorded of Alexander, who being interrogated, why he did not engage in the Olympic games? answered, He would do so, if there were Kings to cope with him. This must have been Voltaire's reason for opposing a supposed sister of Alexander's to Maria-Theresa, which otherwise would have been absurd, as he had no sister. Quintus Curtius, his historian, was one of those inventive Biographers whom our Author hints at in this passage. Lyfimachus hearing some redoubted exploits reported of Alexander, cried out, "Where was I, while such fine feats were performing?"

Truth requires it to be affirmed, that no credit is to be given to the scandalous anecdotes that have been so often repeated with regard to the private life of this prince. The Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon compiled by La Beaumelle, are full of these ridiculous stories. One of the most extravagant is, that *Monseigneur* was in love with his own sister, and that he married Mademoiselle Chouin. Such nonsense only requires to be refuted, because it has been published in print.

He espoused Maria-Anna-Christina-Victoria of Bavaria, March 8, 1680, who died April 20, 1690; by whom he had issue,

1. LOUIS, Duke of Burgundy, who was born August 6, 1682, and died February 18, 1712, of an epidemical measles. He had by Maria-Adelaide of Savoy, daughter of the first King of Sardinia, who died February 12, 1712, the Duke of Brittany, who died in 1705 :

LOUIS, Duke of Brittany, who died in 1712: And LOUIS XV. born February 15, 1710.

The premature death of the Duke of Burgundy was regretted by all France, and Europe too. He had been well-educated, was just, pacific, an enemy to all vain-glory, and a pupil worthy of the Duke of Beauvilliers and the celebrated Fenelon. We have, to the reproach of human nature, a number of volumes written against Louis XIV. his son *Monseigneur*, and the Duke of Orleans his nephew, but not one to record the merits and virtues of this Prince, whose character deserved to be handed down to posterity, had he been only a private man.

2. PHILIP, Duke of Anjou, King of Spain, who was born December 19, 1683, and died July 9, 1746.

3. CHARLES, Duke of Berry, who was born August 31, 1686, and died May 4, 1714.

Louis XIV. had also two sons, and three daughters, who all died young.

LEGITIMATED *and* NATURAL CHILDREN.

LOUIS XIV. had by the Duchess of La Valière, who became a Recluse of the Carmelite order, June 2, 1674, professed herself June 4, 1675, and died June 6, 1710, aged sixty-six,

LOUIS of Bourbon, Count of Vermandois, who was born October 2, 1667, and died in 1683.

MARY-ANNE, styled *Mademoiselle de Blois*, who was born in 1666, married to Lewis-Armand, Prince of Conti, and died in 1739.

Other NATURAL CHILDREN LEGITIMATED.

LOUIS-AUGUSTUS of Bourbon, Duke of Maine, who was born March 31, 1670, and died in 1736.

LOUIS-CÆSAR, Count of Vexin, Abbé of St. Denis, and of St. Germain des Prés, who was born in 1672, and died in 1683.

LOUIS-ALEXANDER of Bourbon, Count of Toulouse, who was born June 6, 1678, and died in 1737.

LOUISA-FRANCES of Bourbon, styled *Mademoiselle de Nantes*, who was born in 1673, married to Louis III. Duke of Bourbon-Condé, and died in 1743.

LOUISA-MARIA of Bourbon, styled *Mademoiselle de Tours*, who died in 1681.

FRANCES-MARIA of Bourbon, styled *Mademoiselle de Blois*, who was born in 1677, married to Philip II. Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, and died in 1749. He had two other sons also, who both died young.

PRINCES *and* PRINCESSES of the BLOOD ROYAL, *who lived in the AGE of LOUIS XIV.*

JOHN-BAPTIST-GASTON, Duke of Orleans, second son of Henry IV. and of Mary of Medicis, who was born at Fontainebleau, in 1608, almost ever unfortunate, hated by his brother, persecuted by Cardinal Richelieu; engaging in all the political parties of the Court,

Court, and frequently forsaking his confederates. He was the cause of the death of the Duke of Montmorency, of Cinq-Mars, and of the virtuous De Thou. Jealous of his rank, and the etiquette of precedence himself, he yet broke through the forms, one day, with regard to all the Nobility of the Court, at an entertainment which he gave them; and taking the Duke of Montbazon by the hand, to lead him down stairs, the Duke of Montbazon said to him, "I am the first of your friends that ever you assisted to descend from the scaffold." He acted a considerable part, but an unhappy one, during the Regency, and died in banishment at Blois, in 1660.

ELIZABETH, daughter of Henry IV. who was born in 1602, married to Philip IV. very unhappy in Spain, where she lived without credit or comfort, and died in 1644.

CHRISTINA, second daughter of Henry IV. wife to Victor-Amadæus, Duke of Savoy. Her life was passed in a perfect storm, both at Court, and in her Family. They disputed with her the guardianship of her son, opposed her power, and attacked her reputation. She died in 1663.

HENRIETTA-MARIA, wife to Charles I. King of Great-Britain, the most unhappy Princess of this House. She possessed almost all the qualities of her father. She died in 1669.

MADAMOISELLE DE MONTPENSIER, named the *Great Mademoiselle*, daughter of Gaston, and of Maria de Bourbon Montpensier, whose Memoirs are published, and who is much spoken of in this history. She died in the year 1693.

MARGARETTA-LOUISA, wife to Cosmo de Medicis, who quitted her husband, and retired into France.

FRANCES-MAQDALEN, wife of Charles-Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy.

PHILIP, *Monsieur*, only brother of Louis XIV. He espoused Henrietta, daughter of Charles I. King of England, and grand-daughter to Henry IV. a Princess dear to France by her wit and accomplishments, and who died in the flower of her age, in 1670. *Monsieur* survived 'till the year 1701.

It was he who commenced the new House of Orleans. He had, by the daughter of the Elector Palatine, who died in 1722,

PHILIP of ORLEANS, Regent of France, famous for his courage, his wit, and his pleasures, born for social life even more than for public business, and one of the most amiable men that ever lived. His sister was the last Duchess of Lorraine. He died in 1723.

The House of CONDE were a distinguished Branch, in this Class.

HENRY, Prince of CONDE, the second of the name, first Prince of the Blood, was held in much esteem during the Regency, and had a character of remarkable probity in those troublesome times. His income was computed at about two millions of livres a-year, according to our present reckoning*. He gave an example, in the management of his household, of an œconomy that Cardinal Mazarin should have copied, if it had been possible: but his greatest glory was to have been the father of the Great Condé. He died in 1646.

THE GREAT CONDE LOUIS II. of that name, son of the former, and of Charlotta-Margaretta of Montmorency, nephew to the illustrious and unfortunate Duke of Montmorency beheaded at Toulouse, who reunited in his person every quality that had characterised, during so many ages, both these houses of heroes, was born September 8th, 1621, and died December 11th, 1686.

He had issue by Clemence de Maillé de Brezé, niece to Cardinal Richelieu,

HENRY-JULIUS, commonly called *Monsieur the Prince*, who died in 1709.

Henry-Julius had, by Anne of Bavaria, Palatine of the Rhine,

* About two hundred thousand pounds English.

LOUIS of Bourbon, stiled *Monsieur the Duke*, father of him who was Prime Minister under Louis XV. He died in 1710.

The Branch of CONTI.

The first Prince of Conti, ARMAND, was brother to the Great Condé; he had a part in the *Fronde* †, and died in 1666.

He left issue, by Anne Martinozzi, niece to Cardinal Mazarin,

LOUIS, who married Mary-Anne, daughter of Louis XIV. by the Duchess of Valiere, and died without issue, in 1685.

FRANCIS LOUIS, Prince of Roche-sur-Yon, afterwards Conti, who was elected King of Poland, in 1697; a Prince whose memory was long held in esteem in France, resembling the Great Condé in his wit and courage, and always animated with a desire of pleasing, a quality which was often deficient in the Great Condé. He died in 1709.

He had issue by Adelaide of Bourbon, his cousin, LOUIS-ARMAND, born in 1695, who survived Louis XIV.

The Branch of BOURBON-SOISSONS.

There was of this branch only LOUIS, Count of Soissons, killed at the battle of La Marfée, in 1641. All the other branches were extinct.

The COURTENAYS were not acknowledged for Princes of the Blood, but by the Courtesy of the Public, and they held not the rank. They were descended from *Lewis the Gross*; but when their ancestors assumed the arms of the heirs of Courtenay, they had not taken the precaution to attach themselves to the Royal Family, at the time when the great land-holders acknowledged no prerogative, except what was annexed to the great feudal tenures, or the Peerage.

* An antiministerial League, in the Minority of Louis XIV, so called.

This branch had given Emperors to Constantinople, but could not furnish an acknowledged Prince of the Blood. Cardinal Mazarin, in order to mortify the House of Condé, endeavoured to confer on them the rank and honours they had been aiming at so long; but he found that they had not sufficient consequence in themselves, to second his intention.

COTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

P O P E S.

BARBERINI, URBAN VIII. It was he who first gave to Cardinals the title of *Eminence*. He abolished the order of female Jesuits. The time was not ripe enough for abolishing the male ones. We have a large collection of his Latin verses. The poetry of Ariosto and Tasso is preferred before them. He died in 1644.

Pamphilo, INNOCENT X. noted for having banished from Rome the two Nephews of Urban VIII. to whom he owed his rise; for having condemned the five propositions of Jansenius, without having ever taken the trouble of reading the book; and for having been governed by Donna Olympia, his sister-in-law, who sold, under his Pontificate, every thing that was vendible. He died in 1655.

Chigi, ALEXANDER VII. It was he that asked pardon of Louis XIV. by a *Legate à Latere*. He was even a worse poet than Urban VIII. Long time commended for having neglected Nepotism, he concluded with placing it on the throne. He died in 1667.

Rospigliosi, CLEMENT IX. A patron of literature, without writing verses; pacific, œconomical, liberal, and a father of his people. He had two objects at heart, which he was not able to compass; to hinder the Turks from taking Candia, and to preserve peace in the Gallican church. He died in 1669.

Altieri, CLEMENT X. An honest man, and of a pacific disposition, like his predecessor; but governed too much. He died in 1676.

Odescalqui,

Odescalqui, INNOCENT XI. A violent enemy to Louis XIV. forgetting the interests of the Church in favour of the league formed against that Monarch. He is often mentioned in this history. He died in 1689.

Ottoboni, a Venetian, ALEXANDER VIII. Few men ever distributed more charity, or shewed more liberality to his relations. He died in 1691.

Pignatelli, INNOCENT XII. He condemned the illustrious Fénelon. Excepting this, he was loved and esteemed. He died in 1700.

Albani, CLEMENT XI. His bull against Quésnel, which is only a single sheet, is more generally read than his works in six folio volumes. He died in 1721.

Of the OTTOMAN RACE.

IBRAHIM. 'Tis him of whom Racine said very justly,

“ This foolish Prince dreads not impending fate * ;
 “ But spends his thoughtless hours in childish prate.”

Raised from a prison to a throne, on the death of his brother Amurath. But notwithstanding his weakness, the Turks conquered Candia under his reign. He was strangled in 1649.

MAHOMET IV. son of Ibrahim. He was deposed, and died in 1687.

SOLIMAN III. son of Ibrahim, and brother to Mahomet IV. after various successes in his wars against Germany, died a natural death, in 1691.

ACHMET II. brother to the former; a poet and musician. His army was beaten at Salankamén by Prince Louis of Baden. He died in 1695.

MUSTAPHA II. son to Mahomet IV. conqueror at Temeswar, conquered by Prince Eugene, at the battle of Zenta on the Tibisk, in September 1697, deposed

* Alluding to the custom of the Sultans, of imprisoning all their brothers, and putting those of them to death, who are distinguished for sense, spirit, or other talents dangerous to despotism:

“ Bears like the Turk no brother near the throne.”

in Adrianople, and died in the seraglio at Constantinople, in 1703.

ACHMET III. brother to the former; defeated also by Prince Eugene, at Peterwaradin and at Belgrade, and deposed in 1730.

EMPERORS of GERMANY.

Nothing particular of them need be mentioned here, as they are fully spoken of in the body of this history.

FERDINAND III. died in 1657.

LEOPOLD I. died in 1705.

JOSEPH I. died in 1711.

CHARLES VI. died in 1740.

KINGS of SPAIN.

The same silence is observed here, and for the same reason.

PHILIP IV. died in 1665.

CHARLES II. died in 1700.

PHILIP V. died in 1746.

KINGS of PORTUGAL.

JOHN IV. Duke of Braganza, surnamed *the Fortunate*. His wife Louisa de Guzman made him King of Portugal. He died in 1656.

ALPHONSO, son of the former. If John was made King by his wife, Alphonso was dethroned by his. He was confined in the Island of Tercera, where he died in 1683.

DON PEDRO, brother to the former, whom he deprived both of his crown and wife; and in order to render his marriage with her legitimate, he had his brother pronounced impotent, all-profligate as he was. He died in 1706.

JOHN V. died in 1750.

KINGS

KINGS of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND,
and IRELAND, of whom mention is made in the
Age of Louis XIV.

CHARLES I. assassinated, according to forms of law, on a scaffold, in 1649.

CROMWELL (Oliver) Protector, December 22, 1653; more powerful than a King. He died September 15, 1658.

CROMWELL (Richard) Protector immediately after the death of his father. He was peaceably dispossessed, in the month of June 1659, and died in 1685.

CHARLES II. died in 1685.

JAMES II. dethroned in 1688, and died in 1701.

WILLIAM III. died in 1702.

ANNE Stuart, died in 1714.

GEORGE I. died in 1727.

KINGS of DENMARK.

CHRISTIAN IV. died in 1648.

FREDERIC III. acknowledged in 1661, by the Clergy and the Burghers as an absolute sovereign, superior to the laws, having authority to enact, to abrogate, or infringe them, at his sole will and pleasure. The Nobles were obliged to comply with the determination of the two other Orders of the State. By this strange constitution the Kings of Denmark are the only Princes who are despotic by law; and yet, what is still more extraordinary, is, that neither that King, nor any of his successors, have ever since made any unjustifiable use of such boundless controul. He died in 1667.

CHRISTIAN V. died in 1699.

FREDERIC IV. died in 1730.

KINGS of SWEDEN.

CHRISTINA. She is much spoken of in the Age of Louis XIV. She abdicated in 1654; and died at Rome, in 1689.

CHARLES

CHARLES X. GUSTAVUS, who attempted to establish the despotism of the Crown, and died in 1660.

CHARLES XI. who confirmed it, and died in 1697.

CHARLES XII. who abused it, and was therefore the cause of the people's recovering their liberty again. He died in 1718.

KINGS of POLAND.

LADISLAUS-SIGISMOND, conqueror of the Turks. It was he who, in 1645, sent a magnificent embassy to espouse by proxy the Princess Maria de Gonzaga de Nevers. The suite, the dresses, the horses, and the coaches of the Polish Ambassadors, eclipsed the splendour of the Court of France, on which Louis XIV. had not yet bestowed that magnificence that has since out-shone all the other Courts in the world. He died in 1648.

JOHN-CASIMIR, brother to the former, a Jesuit, afterwards a Cardinal, and then King. He espoused his brother's widow, grew tired of Poland, retired to Paris, was made Abbé of St. Germain des Prés, lived much with Ninon de L'Enclos, and died in 1672.

MICHAEL WIENOWISKI, elected in 1670. He suffered Kamienieck to be taken by the Turks, the only fortified town he had, and the key of his kingdom, and submitted to be their tributary. He died in 1673.

JOHN SOBIESKI, elected in 1674, conqueror of the Turks, and restorer of the liberty of Vienna. His life has been written by the Abbé Coyer, a man of sense and philosophy. He married a French woman, as well as Ladislaus and Casimir. She was Mademoiselle d'Arquien. He died in 1696.

AUGUSTUS I. Elector of Saxony, elected in 1697, by one party of the Nobles, while the Prince of Conti was chosen by the other. He soon became sole King, was dethroned by Charles XII. re-established by the Czar Peter I. and died in 1733.

TANISLAUS, established, on the contrary, by Charles XII. and dethroned by Peter I. He died in 1765.

KINGS

KINGS of PRUSSIA.

FREDERIC, the first King, died in 1700.

FREDERIC-WILLIAM, the first that ever had a great army, and who disciplined it; father of Frederic the Great, who was the first that conquered with this army. He died in 1740.

CZARS of RUSSIA, *since styled* EMPERORS.

MICHAEL ROMANO, son to Philarete, Archbishop of Moscow, elected in 1613, at the age of fifteen. In his time the Czars chose a wife among their own subjects. They summoned to their Court a number of young women, and chose any one they liked. These were the ancient Asiatic manners. Thus did Michael espouse the daughter of a poor gentleman, who tilled his own land himself. He died in 1645.

ALEXIS, son of Michael, who fought against the Ottomans with success, and died in 1676.

FEDOR, son of Alexis, who attempted to civilize the Russians, a work reserved for Peter the Great. He died in 1682.

IVAN, brother to Fedor, and the elder brother of Peter, but incapable of the throne. He died in 1688.

PETER THE GREAT, a real founder. He died in 1725.

GOVERNORS of FLANDERS.

The LOW-COUNTRIES having been generally the Theatre of the War, in the Time of LOUIS XIV. it may be useful here to give the Succession of the Governors of this Province, who never saw the Faces of any of their Kings since Philip II.

THE Marquis FRANCISCO DE MELLO D'ASSUMAR; the same who was beaten by the Great Condé. He was dismissed in 1644.

The great Commander CASTEL RODRIGO, who died in 1647.

LEOPOLD-

LEOPOLD-WILLIAM, Arch-Duke of Austria, that is to say, only bearing the title, without any of the possessions of that principality, brother to Ferdinand II. It was he who sent a deputation to the Parliament of Paris, to join with him in a league against Cardinal Mazarin. He died in 1656.

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA, natural son to Philip IV. a powerful enemy to the Jesuit Nithar, Prime Minister of Spain, as the Prince of Condé was to Cardinal Mazarin; but more successful than this latter, as he banished Nithar out of the kingdom for life. It was he who was beaten by Turenne at the battle of Dunes. He died in 1659.

The Marquis of CARACENE, who died in 1664.

The Marquis of CASTEL RODRIGO, who ill sustained the war against Louis XIV. and who indeed could not sustain it well. He died in 1668.

FERNANDES DE VESASCO, Constable of Castille, who died in 1669.

The Count of MONTEREY, who privately succoured the Dutch against Louis XIV. He died in 1675.

The Duke of VILLA HERMOSA, the most liberal man of his time. He died in 1678.

ALEXANDER FARNESE, second son to the Duke of Parma. This name of Alexander Farnese was difficult to support. He was dismissed in 1682.

The Marquis of GRANA, who died in 1685.

The Marquis of CASTANAGA, who died in 1692.

MAXIMILIAN-EMMANUEL, Elector of Bavaria, after the battle of Hochstet. He held the title till the peace of Utrecht, in 1714, and died the same year.

Prince EUGENE, Vicar-General of the Low-Countries. He never resided there, and died in 1736.

MARSHALS of FRANCE who died or who served under Louis XIV.

D'ALBRET, (Cesar Phœbus) of the family of the Kings of Navarre, Marshal of France in 1653. He condescended to espouse the daughter of Guenegaud, Treasurer of the Exchequer, who was a Lady of great

merit. St. Evremond has celebrated her. He had been a lover of Madame Maintenon, and of the famous Ninon; loved in private life, and respected in war. He died in 1676.

D'ALEGRE (Yves) having served near sixty years under Louis XIV. was not made a Marshal till 1724. He died in 1733.

D'ASFELD (Claude-Francis-Bidal) acquired a great reputation for the attack and defence of places. He contributed much to the success of the battle of Almanza. He was created a Marshal in 1734, and died in 1743.

D'AUBUSSON (Francis de la Feuillade) Marshal in 1675. It was he who, out of gratitude, set up a statue of Louis XIV. in the Place des Victoires. He died in 1691. His son was not made a Marshal, till a long time after, in 1725.

D'AUMONT, (Antony) grandson of the famous John Marshal d'Aumont, one of the great Captains of Henry IV. Antony contributed much to the gaining the battle of Rethel in 1650. He received the Marshal's staff upon that occasion, and died in 1669.

DE BALINCOURT, Marshal in 1746.

BERWICK, (James Fitzjames Duke of) natural son to James II. King of England, by a sister to the Duke of Marlborough. James created him Duke of Berwick in England. He was likewise a Duke in Spain, and one in France also. He was made a Marshal in 1706, and slain at the siege of Philipsburgh, in 1734.

BASSOMPIERRE (Francis de) born in 1579, Colonel-General of the Swiss. A Marshal in 1622; prisoner in the Bastille, from the year 1631 to the death of Cardinal Richelieu. He there composed his Memoirs, which are made up of the intrigues of the Court, and his own gallantries. Cæsar, in his Commentaries, never mentions a word of his amours. It is said, that he faced the fossé of the Cours-à-Reine with stone, at his own expence. He died in 1646.

BELLEFONDS

BELLEFONDS (Bernardin Gigaut de) Marshal in 1698. He gained a battle in Catalonia, in 1684, and died in 1699.

DE BELLE-ISLE (Louis-Charles-Augustus de Fouquet) Grand-son of the Superintendent, distinguished in the wars of 1701, Duke and Peer, Prince of the Empire, Marshal in 1741. He concerted with his brother all the plan of the war against the Queen of Hungary, in which his brother was killed. He died Minister of State.

BEZONS (James Bazin de) Marshal in 1699, and died, in 1733.

BIRON (Armand-Charles de Gontaut, Duke of) who revived the Duchy in his family. Having served in all the wars of Louis XIV. and lost an arm at the siege of Landau, he was not made a Marshal till 1734.

BOUFFLERS (Lewis-Francis, Duke of) one of the best officers of Louis XIV. Marshal in 1693, and died in 1711.

BOURG (Eleanor-Maria du Maine, Count Du) gained an important battle under Louis XIV. but was not made a Marshal till 1725. He died the same year.

BRANCAS (Henry de Villars de Sérét) having served a long time under Louis XIV. was made a Marshal in 1734.

BREZE (Urban de Maillé, Marquis of) brother-in-law to Cardinal Richelieu, Marshal in 1632, Viceroy of Catalonia, and died in 1650.

BROGLIO (Victor-Maurice) having served in all the wars of Louis XIV. was created a Marshal in 1724; and died in 1727.

BROGLIO (Francis-Maria, Duke of) son to the former. One of the best Lieutenant-Generals in the armies of Louis XIV; was made a Marshal in 1734, father of another Marshal Broglio, who united the talents of his ancestors.

CASTELNAU (James de) Marshal in 1658, and killed the same year, at the siege of Calais.

CATINAT (Nicholas de) Marshal in 1693. He joined philosophy to the talents for war. The last day he commanded in Italy, he gave the parole *Paris & St. Gassien,*

Gassien, which latter was the name of his own country-house. To this place he immediately retired, spent the remainder of his life in reading and reflection, and died in 1712, after having refused the blue ribband*.

CHAMILLI (Noel Bouton de). He had served at the siege of Candia. A Marshal in 1703, and died in 1715.

CHATEAU-RENAUD (Francis-Louis Rousselet de) Vice-Admiral of France, served equally well by sea and land; cleared the sea of pirates, defeated the English in Bantry-bay, bombarded Algiers, and placed the Isles of America in safety. He was a Marshal in 1703, and died in 1716.

CHAULNES (Honoré d'Albret, Duke of) Marshal in 1620, and died in 1649.

CHOISEUL (Claude de) third Marshal of France of the same name, in 1693, and died in 1711.

CLAIRAMBAULT (Philip de Palluau de) Marshal in 1653, and died in 1665.

DE CLERMONT-TONNERRE, having served in the war of 1701, was made a Marshal in 1747.

COIGNI (Francis de Franquetot) a long time one of the General Officers under Louis XIV. was created a Marshal in 1734, and gained two battles in Italy.

COLIGNI (Gaspard de) Grandson of the Admiral of that name; a Marshal in 1622, Commander against the rebel forces of the Count of Soissons, and was slain at the battle of Marfée. He died in 1646.

CREQUI (Francis de) a Marshal in 1668, and one who died in 1687, with the reputation of a Commander who was fit to succeed Marshal Turenne.

D'ETAMPES (James de la Ferté-Imbaut) a Marshal in 1651, and died in 1668.

D'ETREES (Francis-Hannibal, Duke) Marshal in 1626. What is very singular with regard to this person, is, that at the age of ninety-three, he married for his second wife Mademoiselle de Manican, who had just before miscarried by a former amour. He died above a hundred years of age, in 1670.

* The Order of the Holy-Ghost.

D'ETREES (John) Vice-Admiral in 1670, a Marshal in 1681, and died in 1707.

D'ETREES (Victor-Maria) son of John D'Etrées, Vice-Admiral of France, as his father was, before he had been created a Marshal. It is to be remarked, that in this quality of Vice-Admiral of France, he commanded the united fleets of France and Spain, in 1701, and was made a Marshal in 1703. He died in 1737.

DURAS (James Henry de Durfort de) nephew to the Viscount Turenne, made Marshal in 1675, immediately after the death of his uncle, and died in 1704.

DURAS (John de Durfort, Duke of) Field-Marshal under Louis XIV. and Marshal of France in 1741.

FABERT (Abraham) Marshal in 1658. Some have imputed both his fortune and his death to supernatural causes: but there was nothing extraordinary in his life, except his having deserved his success by his merit, and his having refused the ribband of *The Order*, though the proofs of his title to it were offered to be dispensed with*. 'Tis said that Cardinal Mazarin proposed to him to act as a spy in the army, and that his answer was, "Perhaps it may be necessary for a Minister to make use of scoundrels, as well as men of honour, but I chuse only to serve in the latter character." He died in 1662.

FARE (de la) son of the Marquis de la Fare, celebrated for his ingenious pieces of poetry: an Officer in the war of 1701, and made a Marshal in 1740.

FERTE SENNETERRE (Henry, Duke de la) made Field-Marshal at the siege of Hesdin, commanded the left wing at the battle of Rocroi, appointed a Marshal in 1651, and died in 1681.

FORCE (James Nompar de Caumont de la) Marshal in 1622. He was one of those who happened to escape at the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and wrote an

* Voltaire does not mention *The Order* here hinted at; but it must be supposed to be some particular distinction, which those only were intitled to, who could prove a genealogical succession, for a certain term, untainted with Plebeian blood.

account of it, in the Memoirs preserved in his family. He died at ninety-seven years of age, in 1652.

FOUCAULT (Louis) Count of Daugnon, Marshal in 1653, and died in 1659.

GASSION (John de) pupil of the great Gustavus. A Marshal in 1643. He was a Calvinist. He never would marry, saying, that "he thought life a thing of too little value to share it with any one." He was killed at the siege of Lens, in 1647.

GRAMONT (Anthony de) Marshal in 1641, and died in 1678.

GRAMONT (Anthony de) grandson of the former, a Marshal in 1724, father of the Duke of Gramont who was killed at the battle of Fontenoy, and died in 1725.

GRANCEI (James-Rouxel, Count of) Marshal in 1651, and died in 1680.

GUEBRIANT (John-Baptist de Budes) Marshal in 1642. One of the best warriors of his time. Slain at the siege of Rotweil, and interred with pomp at Notre-Dame.

HARCOURT (Henry, Duke of). It may be said, that it was he who put an end to the old enmity between the French and Spanish nations, while he was Ambassador at Madrid. His address and arts of pleasing won so much on the Court of Spain, that Charles II. consented to adopt a grandson of Louis XIV. as heir to his dominions. It was his place to have commanded, instead of Marshal Villars, the year of the successful campaign of Denain; but he could hardly have acquitted himself in that charge with more glory. He was made a Marshal in 1703, and died in 1718. His son was made a Marshal in 1746.

HOCQUINCOURT (Charles de Mouchi) Marshal in 1651. He was killed in pursuing the enemy before Dunkirk, in 1658.

HOPITAL (Nicholas de L') Captain of the Guards under Louis XIII. Marshal in 1617, for having slain the Marshal d'Ancre; but he other-ways deserved this dignity, on account of his general bravery. He is

numbered among the Marshals of this age, as dying in the reign of Louis XIV. in 1644.

HUMIERES (Louis de Crevan, Marquis D') Marshal in 1668, and died in 1694.

JOYEUSE (John Armand de) Marshal of France in 1693, and died in 1710.

D'ISENGHIEN, an Officer under Louis XIV. and Marshal in 1741.

LORGE (Guy-Alphonfus de Durfort de) nephew to the Viscount Turenne. Marshal in 1676, and died in 1702.

LUXEMBOURG (Francis-Henry de Montmorenci, Duke of) The pupil of the Great Condé. Marshal in 1675. There were seven Marshals of this name, besides the Constables; and since the eleventh century, there has hardly been a reign without some of the family at the head of armies. He died in 1695.

LUXEMBOURG (Christian-Louis de Montmorenci) grandson of the former, signalized himself in the war of 1701, and was made a Marshal in 1747.

DE MAILLEBOIS, son to the Minister of State Desmarêts, having signalized himself on all occasions during the war of 1701, was made a Marshal in 1741*.

MARSIN, or MARCHIN (Ferdinand, Count of) passed from the Austrian service into that of France, was made a Marshal in 1703, and was killed at Turin, in 1706.

DE MATIGNON (Charles-Augustus-Goion de Gacé) Marshal in 1708, and died in 1729.

MAULEVRIER-LANGERON, Marshal in 1745.

MEDAVI (James-Léonor Rouxel de Grancei, Count of) was not made a Marshal till 1724, though he had gained a complete victory in 1706. He died in 1725.

DE LA MEILLERAYE (Charles de la Porte) made Marshal in 1639, under Louis XIII. who presented him with the Marshal's staff at the siege of Hesdin. He

* Persons of merit must have *long* hopes in France, at this rate. How many Pimps, Parasites, and *Putains*, were preferred, or provided for, in that forty years interval!

was Grand-Master of the Ordnance, and had the reputation of being an expert commander at sieges. He died in 1664.

MONTESQUIOU (Peter Count of Artagnan) Marshal in 1709, and died in 1725.

MONTREVEL (Nicholas-Augustus de la Baume) Marshal in 1703, and died in 1716.

MORTE-HOUDANCOURT (Philip de la) Marshal in 1642. He was sent to the Castle of Pierre-en-Cise in 1643; and it is remarkable that there was no General who had not been imprisoned or exiled during the administrations of Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin. He died in 1657. His Grand-son was made a Marshal in 1747.

NANGIS (Louis-Armand de Brichanteau) served with distinction under Marshal Villars in the war of 1701. He was made a Marshal under Louis XV.

NAVAILLES (Philip de Montaud de Bénac, Duke of) a Marshal in 1675, commanded at Candia under the Duke of Beaufort, and after him. He died in 1684.

NOAILLES (Anne-Julius Duke of) Marshal in 1693. He signalized himself in Spain, where he won the battle of Ter. He died in 1708.

NOAILLES (Adrian-Maurice) son to the former, a General in the army, in Rouffillon in 1706, a Grandée of Spain in 1711, after having taken Gironne. He was not made a Marshal of France till the year 1734. He presided over the Finances in 1715, and has been since Minister of State. Nobody wrote dispatches better than he. He died in 1766.

PLESSIS-PRASLIN (Cæsar Duke of Choiseul, Count of) a Marshal in 1645. He had the glory of defeating Viscount Turenne at Rethel in 1650. He died in 1675.

PUISEGUR (James de Chastenot de) a Marshal in 1734, son of James, Lieutenant-General under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. who acquired great reputation, and has left us some Memoirs. The Marshal has written on the subject of war. He was a person whom the Minister always consulted in critical situations.

RICHÉLIEU (Louis-François-Armand du Pleffis, Duke of) a Brigadier under Louis XIV. a General in the army at Gènes, a Marshal in 1748, and took the Island of Minorca from the English, in 1756.

ROCHEFORT (Henry-Louis, Marquis of Ajongni, and Marquis of) Marshal in 1675, and died in 1676.

ROQUELAURE (Anthony-Gaston-John-Baptist, Duke of) Marshal in 1724.

RÖSEN, or ROSE (Conrad de) of an ancient family in Livonia, served first a volunteer in the Regiment de Briçon; but his birth and merit having been soon known, he was raised step by step. James II. made him General of his troops in Ireland. He was made a Marshal of France in 1703, and died at the age of eighty-seven, in 1715.

SAINT-LUC (Timoléon d'Epinaide) son of the brave Saint-Luc, whose elogy is made by Brantôme. He was made a Marshal in 1628, and died in 1644.

SCHOMBERG (Frédéric-Armand) pupil of Frederic-Henry, Prince of Orange. A Marshal in 1675, Duke of Mertola in Portugal, Governor and Generalissimo of Prussia, Duke and General in England. He was a zealous Protestant, quitted France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and was slain at the battle of the Boyne, in 1690.

SCHULEMBERG (John de) Count of Mondejeu, originally from Prussia. Marshal in 1658, and died in 1671.

TALLARD (Camillo d'Ostun, Duke of) It was he who concluded the two Treaties of Partition. Marshal in 1703, Minister of State in 1726, and died in 1728.

TESSE (René de Froullai) Marshal in 1703, and died in 1725.

TURENNE (Henry de la Tour, Viscount of) born in 1611. Marshal of France in 1644, Marshal-General in 1660, and died in 1675.

VAUBAN (Sebastian le Prêtre, Marquis of) Marshal in 1703, and died in 1707.

VILLARS (Louis-Claude, Duke of) who took the name of *Hector*. Marshal in 1702. President of the Council of

of War in 1718, represented the Constable at the Coronation of Louis XV. in 1722, and died in 1734. He is mentioned in this history, as well as Turenne.

VILLEROY (Nicholas de Neuville, Duke of) Governor to Louis XIV. in 1646; Marshal the same year, and died in 1685.

VILLEROY (Francis de Neuville, Duke of) son of the former, Governor of Louis XV. Marshal in 1693. His father and he were Chiefs of the Council of Finances, a title without any office annexed, but only as a form to have them admitted of the Council-Board. He died in 1730.

VIVONNE (Louis-Victor de Rochechouart, Duke of) Standard-Bearer of the Church, General of the Marines, Viceroy of Messina, and Marshal of France in 1675. He is not reckoned as the first Marshal of the Marines, because he was in the land-service a considerable time. He died in 1688.

UXELLES (Nicholas Châlon du Blé, Marquis D') Marshal in 1703, President of the Council for foreign affairs in 1718, and died in 1730.

GRAND ADMIRALS of FRANCE during the Reign of LOUIS XIV.

ARMAND DE MAILLE, Marquis de Brezé, Grand-Master, Principal and Superintendent-General of the Navigation and the Commerce of France in 1643. Killed at sea by a cannon-shot, June 14, 1646.

ANNE of Austria, Queen Regent, Superintendent of the Marine of France in 1646. She resigned the command in 1650.

CÆSAR Duke of VENDÔME, and of Beaufort, Grand-Master and Superintendent-General of the Navigation and Commerce of France, in 1650.

FRANCIS of VENDÔME, Duke of Beaufort, son to Cæsar, slain at the battle of Candia, June 25, 1669.

LOUIS DE BOURBON, Count of VERMANDOIS, legitimated son of Louis XIV. Admiral in the month of August 1669, at two years old, and died in 1683.

LOUIS-ALEXANDER of BOURBON, Count of TOULOUSE, legitimated also; Admiral in 1683, and died in 1737.

GENERALS of the GALLEYS of FRANCE, during the Reign of LOUIS XIV.

ARMAND-JOHN DU PLESSIS, Duke of RICHELIEU; made a Peer of France in 1643, during the life of Francis his father, and resigned in 1661.

FRANCIS Marquis of CREQUI succeeded him, and resigned the office in 1669, a year after he had been made a Marshal of France.

LOUIS-VICTOR DE ROCHECHOUART, Count, and afterwards Duke of VIVONNE, Prince of Tonnai-Charente, in 1669.

LOUIS of ROCHECHOUART, Duke of MORTEMAR, on surviving his father. Died April 3, 1688.

LOUIS-AUGUSTUS of Bourbon, legitimated son of Louis XIV. Prince of Dombes, Duke of MAINE and Aumale, in 1688, and resigned in 1694.

LOUIS-JOSEPH Duke of VENDÔME in 1694, and died in 1712.

RENE SIRE DE FROULLAI, Count of TESSE, Marshal of France in 1712, and resigned in 1716.

The Chevalier of ORLEANS, in 1716, and died in 1748. After him this dignity was reunited to the Board of Admiralty.

MINISTERS

MINISTERS of STATE.

JULIUS-MAZARIN; Cardinal; first Minister, of an ancient family in Sicily transplanted to Rome, son of Peter Mazarin and of Hortensia Bufalini; born in 1602; employed at first by Cardinal Sacchetti. He put a stop to the motions of the two armies, French and Spanish, just ready to engage near Casal, and concluded the peace of Querasque, in 1631. Vice-Legat at Avignon, and Nuncio extraordinary in France, in 1634. He appeas'd the troubles in Savoy in 1640, in quality of Ambassador-Extraordinary from the King. Made Cardinal in 1641, at the recommendation of Louis XIII. He was intirely attached to France from that time. Admitted to the Supreme Council, December 5, 1642, under the distinction of *Special Counsellor*, which gave him precedence before the Chancellor. Declared sole Counsellor to the Queen Regent for Ecclesiastical affairs by the Will and Testament of Louis XIII.; and Godfather to Louis XIV. with the Princess of Condé-Montmorenci. He at first refrained from challenging precedence of the Princes of the Blood, which Cardinal Richelieu had before usurped; but he preceded the houses of Vendôme and Longueville. But after the Treaty of the Pyrenees, he assumed the place, in the third step, above the Prince of Condé. He never had any letters patent for the post of Prime Minister, though he executed all the functions of it. They were afterwards granted to Cardinal Dubois. Philip of Orleans, too, grandson of France, deigned also to accept them, after his regency had expired. Cardinal Fleury neither had the Patent nor the Title.

Cardinal Mazarin died in 1661.

CHANCELLORS

C H A N C E L L O R S.

CHARLES D'AUBEPINE, Marquis of Châteauneuf, a long time employed on Embassies. Keeper of the seals in 1630, sent to prison in 1633 to the Castle of Angoulême, where he was confined for ten years. Keeper of the Seals again in 1650, resigned them in 1651, spent the remainder of his life amidst the dissensions of the Court, and died in 1653.

PETER SEGUIER, Chancellor, Duke of Villemur, Peer of France. He appeased the troubles of Normandy in 1639. Hazarded his life at the battle of the Barricades. He was always loyal, even in times when it was thought a merit to be otherwise. He contested not the precedence with the father of the Great Condé, in the ceremonies, when he assisted in them with Parliament. He was a man of probity, of learning, and a patron of men of letters. He was the Protector of the French Academy, before this liberal Society, composed of the principal Nobles of the Kingdom, and the best Writers, was arrived to the state of needing no other patron but the King. He died at eighty-four years of age, in 1672.

MATTHEW MOLE, first President of the Parliament of Paris in 1641. Keeper of the Seals in 1651. A just and spirited Magistrate. It is not true, though inserted in two new Dictionaries, that the populace attempted to assassinate him; but it is true that he always awed the seditious by his well-tempered courage and resolution. He died in 1656.

STEPHEN D'ALIGRE, Chancellor in 1674, son of another Stephen, Chancellor under Louis XIII. He died in 1677.

MICHAEL LE TELLIER, Chancellor in 1677, father of the illustrious Marquis of Louvois. His memory was honoured with a funeral oration by the great Bossuet. He died in 1687.

LOUIS BOUCHERAT, Chancellor in 1685. His device was a Cock beneath a Sun, in allusion to the device of Louis XIV. The motto was, *Sol reperit vigilem*. "The Sun found him watchful." He died in 1699.

LOUIS

LOUIS PHELIPEAUX, Count of Pontchartrain, descendant of many Secretaries of State, Chancellor in 1699. He retired to the *Institutes* * in 1714, and died in 1727.

DANIEL-FRANCIS VOISIN, who died in 1717, was the predecessor of the celebrated D'AGUESSEAU.

SUPERINTENDANTS of the FINANCES.

The place of Superintendent was the first in Council, when there was no Prime Minister: from whence it proceeded, that Cardinal Richelieu was obliged to solicit the favour, in 1623 and 1624, of the Marquis since Duke of Vieuxville, then Superintendent, to be admitted into the Council.

CLAUDE LE BOUTILLIER, at first Superintendent conjointly with CLAUDE DE BULLION, in 1632, sole in 1640. He was the first who gave a power to the Intendants of the Finances to impose taxes. He retired in 1643, and died in 1652.

NICHOLAS BAILLEUL, Marquis of Château-Gontier, President of the Parliament, Superintendent of the Finances from 1643 to 1648. He died in 1652, better skilled in the science of the Law, than that of Finances. He had under him, as Comptroller General, PARTICELLI, called EMERI, distinguished for his extortions.

He was the son of a Peasant of Sienna, placed in that station by Cardinal Mazarin. He used to say, that the Ministers of Finances were only made to be abused. He was Superintendent in 1648, exiled to appease the people, and afterwards appointed Superintendent for six months.

EMERI invented various kinds of imposts; sworn officers, measurers and carriers of charcoal; meters,

* A convent in France so called.

pillers, and porters of wood; principal clerks of the coppices, the bridges, and mounds; perquisites for the books of accompts, augmentations of salaries, comptrollers of fines, the twentieth penny, fees, &c.

The same EMERI was Superintendant in 1648; but some months after was exiled by way of sacrifice to the public resentment.

The Marshal Duke of LAMELLERAYE, Superintendant in 1648, during the exile of Emeri. There had been military men before in this office: He had the probity of the Duke of Sully, but not his resources. He came in at the most difficult crisis; and the Duke of Sully was not Superintendant till after the Civil Wars were over. He taxed all the Financiers, and all the Farmers of the Revenues. The greatest part of them became Bankrupts, and no more money was to be had. He quitted the office of Superintendant in 1649, and died in 1664. Emeri assumed the Superintendency, as soon as the Marshal resigned it. An Italian named *Tonti*, then invented a new Loan, upon Life Annuities, chargeable on the National Revenues, which were distinguished into several different classes; the income of each proprietor that died to be shared among the Survivors*. This amounted to a million and twenty-five thousand Livres per annum, which became a prodigious sum to the last survivor. This was a heavy charge upon the State for a few years, but not so burthensome, on the whole, as those that are to remain for ever. He died in 1650.

CLAUDE DE MESME, Count D'AVAUZ, of an ancient family in Guienne, a man of letters who united Wit and the Graces to Science. He was appointed Plenipotentiary, along with Servien; and was loved by all the Negotiators, as much as his Colleague was hated. He was Superintendant in 1650, and died the same year.

CHARLES, Marquis Duke de la VIEUVILLE, the same whom Cardinal Richelieu had dismissed from the Council, and shut up in the castle of Amboise, in 1624. He escaped from his confinement, and fled into England;

* This species of Loan is called *Tontin*, from the inventor's name.

in consequence of which, sentence of death was passed upon him for contumacy. Notwithstanding this, he was afterwards created Duke and Peer, in 1651, and Superintendant the same year. He died in 1653.

RENE DE LONGUEIL, Marquis DE MAISONS, President à Mortier*, Superintendant in 1651, which he held only a year. It is said, that in the space of that one year he built the Castle de Maisons, which is one of the noblest edifices in Europe; but he had raised it the year before. It was the first attempt, and the master-piece, of Francis Mansard, who was then a young man, and a simple mason. A singular anecdote is told upon this occasion, which many people have heard as well as myself, from the Grandson of the Superintendant: One day, as he stood over some labourers clearing out a well, or vault, he happened to discover a hidden treasure, of forty thousand pieces of gold, of the coin of Charles IX.; with which money he erected this palace. He died in 1677.

We may observe that the Superintendants succeeded one another very rapidly, during these troubles.

ABEL SERVIEN, after having negotiated the Peace of Westphalia with the Duke of Longueville and the Count d'Avaux, and having had the principal honour in that transaction, was made Superintendant in 1653, jointly with Nicholas Fouquet; and continued in it till his death, which happened in 1659; but M. Fouquet had always the principal direction in that department.

NICHOLAS FOUQUET, Marquis of BELLE-ISLE, was Superintendant in 1653, though he was Attorney-General in the Parliament of Paris. They have printed by mistake, in the Age of Louis XIV. that he expended eighteen hundred thousand *Francs* † in building his Palace at Vaux, now called Villars; but it is an error of the press; he laid out eighteen millions of the currency of that time, which make about thirty-six of ours.

* A President of Parliament à mortier—so called from a sort of cap they wear.

† *Francs* are *Livres*.

CARDINAL MAZARIN, after his return in 1653, obliged the Superintendent to pay him three millions a year for secret services. He purchased for a small value the old cried-down Bills, and paid himself the full sums*. This ruined Fouquet. Never was a squanderer of the Royal Finances more princely generous than this Superintendent. Never had man in office more personal friends, and never was a person under persecution so faithfully served in his misfortunes. He was, however, sentenced to perpetual banishment by the Commissioners who sat on his trial, and died forgotten, in 1680.

After his disgrace, the post of Superintendent was suppressed.

Under the Superintendants there were Comptrollers General. Cardinal Mazarin named to this office a Foreigner, a Calvinist of Augsburgh, named Bartholomew Hewart, who was his banker. This Hewart had, in effect, rendered great services to the Crown. It was he who, after the death of Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weymar, gave his army to France, by advancing all their pay before-hand. It was he who retained this same army, and some other regiments, in the service of the King, when Viscount Turenne would have tempted them to revolt, in 1648. He advanced two millions five hundred thousand livres of the then currency, to keep them staunch to their engagement: two very important pieces of service, which prove that there is neither commanding or governing without money.

When the Superintendent Fouquet was arrested, he yet lent the King two millions. He played deep, and would often lose a hundred thousand crowns at a sitting. This extravagance prevented his having the first place in the Ministry. The King with good reason preferred M. Colbert. Hewart died only Counsellor of State, in 1676.

* The nature of this fraud I do not know, as I am not versed in the nature of the French Funds or Actions; but suppose it to be something like a Ministerial jobb here of publishing some false piece of bad news to sink the Stocks and buy in, and then contradict it again, to sell out.

His family quitted the Kingdom, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and carried away their immense treasures into foreign countries.

SECRETARIES of STATE, and COMPTROLLERS-GENERAL of the FINANCES.

HENRY-AUGUSTUS DE LOMENIE, Count of BRIENNE, had the department of Foreign Affairs during the minority of Louis XIV. His haughtiness was no disadvantage to him, as it was founded upon sentiments of honour. He has left us some instructive Memoirs, and died in 1666.

CLAUDE LE BOUTILLIER DE CHAVIGNI had the War department, and died in 1652.

LOUIS PHELIPEAUX, Marquis de la VRILLIERE, had the Domestic Affairs under his inspection, and died in 1681.

His son of the same name, Secretary of State, died in 1700. Both of them were esteemed for their virtues, and loved for their mildness of manners.

HENRY-LOUIS DE LOMENIE, Count of BRIENNE, son to Henry-Augustus, had the vivacity of his father, but was deficient in his other qualities. Being Counsellor of State at the age of sixteen, and appointed to the department of Foreign Affairs, he was sent into Germany to instruct himself. He travelled as far as Finland, and wrote his Tour in Latin. He executed the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs for twenty three-years; but having lost his wife Henrietta de Chavigni, he was so much affected, that his mind wandered from all worldly business, and he retired into solitude. The remainder of his life was very miserable. They have struck out his name in the latter historical dictionaries; but should have shewn greater compassion to his unhappy condition, and more respect to his memory.

HUGH

HUGH, Marquis of LYONNE, of an ancient family in Dauphiné, had the management of Foreign Affairs to the year 1670. We have some Memoirs of his. He was a man of great application, and extremely amiable. He died in 1671.

JOHN-BAPTIST COLBERT advanced himself solely by his merit. He rose to be Intendant to Cardinal Mazarin. Being perfectly instructed in all the parts of government, and particularly in the science of Finances, he became a very necessary assistant in the ruinous state to which Cardinal Mazarin, the Superintendant Fouquet, and, still more, the unhappiness of the times had reduced the public revenues. Louis XIV. consulted privately with him, in order to instruct himself. He ruined Fouquet, in concert with the Chancellor Le Tellier; but such an animosity might well be pardoned him, on account of the order and œconomy he introduced into the Finances, and of his other services, the memory of which ought never to be forgotten. He was Comptroller-General in 1654. He may be considered as the Founder of Commerce and Architecture, and the Protector of all the Arts; nor did he neglect Agriculture, as is said in all the late publications of that time. His genius and his attentions could not have suffered him to overlook so essential an article. The only thing he can be reproached with, on that account, is his not suffering the grain to be exported out of the kingdom*. He died in 1683.

JOHN-BAPTIST COLBERT, Marquis of SEIGNELAI, son to the former, with a greater genius even than his father, and more penetrating and better cultivated, was made Secretary of State for the Marine department, which he raised to the most respectable situation of any in Europe, and died in 1690.

CHARLES-COLBERT DE CROISSI, brother to the great Colbert, was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in 1679, after several glorious and successful Embassies. He succeeded to Arnold de Pomponne, Secretary of

* Which certainly is not the way to encourage tillage.

State, but he is placed before him here, not to interrupt the list of the Colberts. He died in 1696.

JOHN-BAPTIST COLBERT, Marquis of Torci, son of the former, was appointed Secretary of State for foreign affairs, on the death of his father. He joined dexterity to probity; never made a promise which he did not fulfil; was loved and respected by all strangers; and died in 1746.

SIMON ARNOLD DE POMPONE was Secretary of State for foreign affairs, in 1671; a man of wit and letters, as were most of the Arnolds; loved in social life, and often preferring the pleasures of company to public business. He was dismissed in 1679, and replaced by the Marquis de Crossi. He did not continue Secretary of State for life, as is said in the new Historical Dictionaries; but the King left him still the title of Minister of State, with the permission of sitting in Council, which, however, he never made use of. He died in 1699.

MICHAELLE TELLIER, the Chancellor, was Secretary of State until the year 1666.

FRANCIS-MICHAEL LE TELLIER, Marquis de Louvois, the greatest Minister in the War department that ever had been in France. He was appointed Secretary of State in 1666. He was more esteemed than loved by the King, the Court and the People. He had the good fortune, as well as Colbert, to have descendants who have done honour to his family, and some of whom have been Marshals of France. It is not true that he died suddenly, on coming out from Council, as is repeated in books and Dictionaries. He drank the waters of Balaruc, and would proceed upon a journey at the same time, which indiscretion occasioned his death in 1691.

LOUIS-FRANCIS LE TELLIER, Marquis de BARBEZIEUX, son to the Marquis de Louvois, was made Secretary of War affairs, after the death of his father. He was a young man who preferred his pleasures and parade to the business of his employ. He died at the age of thirty three, in 1701.

BALTHAZAR-PHELIPPEAUX DE CHATEAUNEUF succeeded
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ceeded his father the Marquis of Vrillière in 1669, exercised the functions in 1676, and died in 1700.

CLAUDE LE PELLETIER, President of the Inquests, Provost of the Merchants, an honest man, modest, and retired. He studied the Canon law, which did not much recommend him as a successor to the great Colbert, and yet he was appointed so, in 1683. The King was told that he was unfit for the place, as he was of too easy a disposition. "It is for that very reason I have chosen him," replied Louis XIV. He quitted the Ministry and the Court in about six years after. All his family have been remarkable, like himself, for their integrity. He died in 1711.

LOUIS PHELIPPEAUX, Count of Pontchartrain, the same that had been Chancellor, entered into public service as first President of the Parliament of Brittany; was made Comptroller General in 1690, after the retiring of the Comptroller General Le Pelletier; and Secretary of State after the death of the Marquis de Seignelai, in the same year 1690. It was he who placed all the Academies under the guardianship of the Secretaries of State, by the assistance of the Abbé Bignon, except the French Academy, which acknowledged no Patron but the King.

JEROME PHELIPPEAUX, Count of Pontchartrain, son of the former, Secretary of State during the life of his father, the Chancellor; dismissed by the Duke of Orleans, on the death of Louis XIV.

MICHAEL CHAMILLART, Counsellor of State and Comptroller-General in 1699; Secretary of State for the War department in 1707; a man of mildness and moderation. He could not long sustain the weight of two such laborious employments, in such difficult times, and was soon obliged to resign them. He died in 1721.

NICHOLAS DESMARETS, Comptroller-General in 1708, zealous, indefatigable, and intelligent; but could not remedy the evils occasioned by the War. He resigned after the death of Louis XIV. and died in 1721.

C A T A L O G U E

Of the greatest Part of the FRENCH WRITERS who appeared in the Age of Louis XIV. intended to serve as a Literary History of that Æra.

ABADIE (James), born at Berne, in 1658, celebrated for his Treatise *on the Christian Religion*; but who afterwards did an injury to that work, by another intitled, *The Opening of the Seven Seals*. He died in Ireland, in 1727.

ABADIE, or LABADIE (John), born in Guienne, in 1610. First a Jesuit, then a Jansenist, and last a Protestant. He endeavoured to found a Sect, and to join with La Bourignon; who answered him, that every man had his own peculiar holy spirit, and that his was much superior to that of Abadie. He left behind him thirty-one volumes of Fanaticism. He is mentioned here, only to shew the weakness of the human mind. He had some disciples, and died at Altena, in 1674.

ABLANCOURT (Nicholas Perrot d'), of an ancient family of the Parliament of Paris, born at Vitri, in 1606. An elegant translator, whose versions were stiled *les belles infidèles* *. He died poor, in 1664.

ACHERI (Luke d'), a Benedictine, a great and judicious compiler; born in 1608, and died in 1685.

ALEXANDER (Noël), born at Rouen, in 1639; a Dominican. He wrote several theological works, and disputed much about the customs of the Chinese, against the Jesuits who had been Missionaries there.

AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAIE (Nicholas), born at Orleans, in 1634. His translations, with political notes, and his Histories, are much sought after. His Memoirs in an alphabetical order are very defective. He was the first that explained the government of Venice. His History gave offence to the Senate, which remained then

* *The charming Deceptions*. The canvas of this picture is too much strained.

under the old prejudice, that there are certain political mysteries which ought not to be revealed. The World has since discovered that there are no mysteries in government, and that true policy consists in being rich, and keeping good armies on foot. Amelot translated and commented on *The Prince* of Machiavel; a work long a favourite with little Princes, who were quarrelling about small States badly governed, but now of no value, since great Potentates, always well armed, have put an end to the hopes and ambition of the lesser powers. Amelot thought himself the greatest politician in Europe, yet was never able to raise himself into the least consideration in life, and died in extreme poverty; which might arise from his being a politician in theory, rather than practice. He died in 1706.

AMELOTTE (Denis), born in Saintonge, in 1606. He was of the Oratory. He is chiefly known by a tolerable good translation of the New Testament. He died in 1678.

AMONTONS (William), born at Paris, in 1663; an excellent mechanist; and died in 1699.

ANCILLON (David), born at Metz, in 1617; a Calvinist. He and his son Charles, who died at Berlin, in 1725, had some reputation for literature.

ANSELM, an Augustine Monk, the first who made a genealogical history of the Great Officers of the Crown, since continued, and augmented, by Du Fourni, Auditor of Accompts. There is no determinate notion of what constitutes the Great Officers. It is generally imagined, that they are those to whose office the title of Grand, or Great, is annexed; as the Great Master of the Horse, the Great Cup-Bearer, &c. But the Constable, the Marshals, the Chancellor, &c. are Great Officers, and yet bear not the title of Great; and others who have it, are not always Great Officers. The Captains of the Guards, the First Gentlemen of the Bedchamber, &c. are since become Great Officers; but they are not entered in Anselm's list. Nothing has ever been decided in this matter, and there remains as much uncertainty and confusion

fusion in all the rights, and in all the titles, in France, as there is of order and regulation in the Administration. He died in 1694.

ARNOLD (Anthony), twentieth son of him who pleaded against the Jesuits, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, and born in 1612. Nothing is better known than his eloquence, his erudition, and his disputes, which rendered him so celebrated, but at the same time so unhappy, according to the vulgar notions, which place unhappiness in poverty and exile, without balancing the account with the glory, the friends, and the healthy old age, that were the portion of this famous man. It is said, in the Supplement to Moréri, that Arnold, in 1689, with the view of recommending himself at Court, wrote a Libel against William III. intitled, *The true Portrait of William-Henry of Nassau, the modern Absalom, the modern Herod, the modern Cromwell, and the modern Nero*. This title is not in the stile of Arnold, but rather resembles that of Pere Garaffe. He never condescended to flatter the Court. Louis XIV. would have scorned to have received a book with so gross a title; and those who attribute either the Libel, or the design of it, to the great Arnold, appear to be ignorant that writing of books was not the method of recommending one's-self at Court. He died at Brussels, in 1694.

The author of the Historical, Literary, Critical, and Jansenist Dictionary says, under the article Arnold, that as soon as his book upon frequent Communion appeared, "Hell trembled, and the Jesuit Nouet made the first attack upon it." Now it is difficult to know exactly what sort of opinion the Devils may have formed of a book just published; and as to men, they have intirely forgotten Father Nouet. It is very true, that the greatest part of Arnold's polemical writings are equally unknown at this day. It is the general fate of most disputes. The author of the Historical, Literary, Critical, and Jansenist Dictionary is up in arms against this truth. He has his reasons; but then he ought to know, that the abuse thrown out on the subject of

theological disputes, is, at present, as much despised as the squabbles themselves; and one need say no more.

ARNOLD-D'ANDILLY (Robert), elder brother to the former, born in 1588, and one of the distinguished writers of Port-Royal. He presented to Louis XIV. at the age of eighty-five, his translation of Josephus, which of all his works is held in the most esteem. He was father to Simon Arnold, Marquis of Pomponne; Minister of State; but this Minister could neither prevent the disputes nor the disgrace of his Uncle the Doctor of the Sorbonne. He died in 1674.

AUBIGNAC (Francis d'), born in 1604. He never had any instructor but himself. Being attached to Cardinal Richelieu, he was of course an enemy to Corneille. His *Practice of the Theatre* is yet read; but he has proved by his Tragedy of Zenobia, that neither sense or learning are capable of conferring talents. He died in 1676.

AUBRI (Anthony), born in 1616. He left behind him the lives of the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin, which, though indifferent performances, are capable of communicating good instruction. He died in 1695. It was he who first detected the forgery of the Political Testament of Cardinal Richelieu.

The COUNTESS D'AUNOIS. Her Travels and her Memoirs of Spain, with some slight Novels, have given her some reputation. She died in 1705.

D'AVRIGNI, a Jesuit, Author of a new method of writing history. He has left us the *Chronological Annals from 1601. to 1715.* He has there given us every thing of consequence that happened in that interval in Europe, fairly discussed, and in few words. No writer has ever shewn more discernment in distinguishing the true, the false, and the doubtful. He has written, also, some Ecclesiastical Memoirs; but they are unluckily infected with the spirit of party. Marcel and he have been both excelled by the *Chronological History of France* of the President Henault; a work at the same time the fullest and yet most concise, that ever

ever was published of the kind, and the most useful also for the Readers.

BAILLET (Adrian), born near Beauvois, in 1649; a famous Critic; and died in 1706.

BALZE (Stephen), of the Limosin, born in 1631. He made a collection of the Manuscripts contained in the Library of Colbert. He laboured in his studies to the age of eighty-eight. He left us seven volumes on ancient monuments. He was exiled for having supported the pretensions of Cardinal Bouillon, who imagined himself independent of the King, founding his plea upon his having been born of a sovereign family, at the time that the compensation for the loss of Sedan had not yet been perfected. He died in 1718.

BALZAC (John-Louis), born in 1594. A man of eloquence, and the first that instituted a prize for eloquence. He was appointed Historiographer of France, and a Counsellor of State, which he used to call magnificent trifles. The French language is much indebted to him. He first gave number and harmony to prose. He possessed so distinguished a reputation in his lifetime, that a person named Goulu, General, or Superior, of the White-Friars, wrote two volumes of abuse against him. He died in 1654*.

BARATIER, the most singular genius, perhaps, that ever appeared in Literature. He ought to be classed among the French, though he was born a German. His father was a Refugée preacher. He understood Greek at six years old, and Hebrew at nine. He made a translation of the Travels of the Jew Benjamin of Tudelle, with critical annotations. This young Baratier was well skilled in History, in Philosophy, and in Mathematics. He astonished all those who knew him when alive, and was much regretted at his death. He was not more than nineteen years of age, when he was snatched from the world.

* It appears extraordinary that M. Voltaire has not mentioned a collection of Letters which are replete with wit and good sense, and are the only writings by which this author is known at present.

BARBEIRAC (John), born at Beziers, in 1674, a Calvinist, Professor of Law and History at Lausanne, a Translator and Commentator on Puffendorf and Grotius. It seems that those Treatises on *The Law of Nations, of War and of Peace*, which were never regarded or consulted on any declaration of war or treaty of peace, nor to determine the rights of any man, are a sort of consolation to the people for the evils that politicks and violence have subjected them to. They give us just such an idea of justice, as portraits do of eminent persons whom we have never seen. He died in 1729.

BARBIER DAUCOURT (John), known among the Jesuits by the name of the *Sacred Advocate*, and to the World by his *Critique on the Dialogues of Father Boubours*, and by the excellent pleading he made for an innocent man put to the rack. He was a long time patronized by Colbert, who made him Comptroller of the King's edifices; but, having lost his protector, he died in great poverty, in 1674.

BARBIER (Mademoiselle) wrote some tragedies.

BARON (Michael). It is not thought that the pieces published under his name were his own. His more acknowledged merit was, his being an accomplished actor; a rare perfection, and which none but himself was distinguished for, in those times. This excellence requires most of the gifts of Nature, a comprehensive genius, and indefatigable application: and yet the world seem most unaccountably to despise it! The preachers often frequented plays, behind a grated lattice, to study the grace and action of Baron, and thence mounted their pulpits to declaim against theatrical representations. It is the custom for Confessors to require from Actors on their death-beds, a renunciation of their profession. Baron had quitted the stage in 1691, through some disgust. He returned to it again in 1720, at the age of sixty-eight, and was received with applause till the year 1729. He then retired a second time, and died the same year, aged near seventy-eight; declaring in his last moments, that he had never felt the least scruple of conscience for repeating before the public

lic the master-pieces of genius and morality of the great writers of the nation, and that nothing can be more absurd than attaching disgrace to the reciting of a work, which it was an honour to have composed.

BARREAUX (James de la Vallée, Seigneur Des), is known among persons of polite literature, for several elegant little poems in the taste of Sarazin and Chappelle. He was a Counsellor of Parliament. It is a certain fact, that being tired out once with a suit of law, in which he was Counsel, he paid the sum in dispute out of his own pocket, threw his brief into the fire, and quitted the Bar for life. His little pieces of poetry are still preserved in the hands of the curious. They are all written with too free a pen.

The public voice has imputed a sonnet to him, as indifferent as it is famous, which finishes with these lines.

Tonne, frappe, il est tems, ren-moi guerre pour guerre,
J'adore en périssant la raison qui t'aigris ;
Mais dessus quel endroit tombera ton tonnerre,
Qui ne soit tout couvert du sang de Jesus-Christ ?

Let Lightning blast, and Thunder strike me dead,
Thy vengeance must a justice be esteemed ;
But on what part of this devoted head
Can fall thy ire, which Christ hath not redeemed ?

But it is a mistake ; the Poem was not written by Des-Barreaux, and he was much displeas'd at hearing it attributed to him. The Abbé de Lavau, then young and giddy, was the real author. I have seen the proof of it in a letter of his to the Abbé Servien. Des-Barreaux died in 1674.

BASNAGE (James), born at Rouen, in 1653. A Calvinist, and Minister at the Hague, but fitter for a Minister of State than of a parish. Of all his works, his *History of the Jews*, with those of the *United-Provinces*, and of *the Church*, are the most esteemed. Temporary histories are of little value, after the eras are pass'd and gone ; but works of general utility are always of consequence. He died in 1723.

BASNAGE

BASNAGE DE BEAUVAL (Henry), of Rouen, an Advocate in Holland, but more of the Philosopher. He wrote *On Toleration in Religion*. He was a laborious scholar, and has left us an edition of the *Dictionary of Furetière*, augmented. He died in 1710.

BASSOMPIERRE (Francis, Marshal de), Though his Memoirs relate to the preceding age, he may fairly be comprehended in this list, as he lived to the year 1646.

BAUDRAN (Michael); born at Paris, in 1633, a Geographer, but less esteemed than Samson. He died in 1700.

BAYLE (Peter), born at Carlat, in the province of Foix, in 1647. He retired to Holland, rather as a Philosopher than a Calvinist. He was persecuted during his life by Jurieu, and after his death by the enemies of Philosophy. If he had foreseen how much his Dictionary would have been held in esteem, he would certainly have rendered it more valuable, by cancelling the names of obscure persons, and adding more illustrious ones. It is rather from his excellent method of reasoning that he is principally distinguished, than from his manner of writing, which is often diffuse, loose, incorrect, and sometimes censurable for a familiarity of stile which frequently sinks into vulgarity. He was more of a Dialectician than a Philosopher, knowing scarcely any thing of physics. He was quite ignorant of the discoveries of the great Newton. Most of his philosophical articles either suppose or controvert a Cartesianism, which no longer subsists. He knew no other definition of Matter, than that of extension. Its other properties, discovered or presumed, are the foundation of real Philosophy. He has given us new demonstrations, and new doubts; so that in many places the sceptic Bayle is not even sceptical enough. He lived and died a mere Philosopher. Des Maizeaux has written his life, in a large volume, when there was hardly enough to have filled half-a-dozen pages. The life of a sedentary author is to be found in his writings. He died in 1706.

The persecution which the fanatical Jurieu raised up in a free country against this Philosopher, ought never to be forgotten. He roused the Calvinistical Consistory against him upon several pretences, but principally on the famous article of *David*, in his Dictionary. Bayle had highly censured the excesses, the deceits, and the cruelties, that this Jewish Prince had been guilty of, at the time when the grace of God had abandoned him. It would not have been amiss, if this same Consistory had compelled him to celebrate this same Jewish Prince, who, on his great penitence, obtained of God that three-score-and-ten thousand of his subjects should die of the plague, to expiate the crime of their King in having dared to number his people. But what is well worthy of remark, is, that this sage Council of Divines, in their censure, reproved him for having sometimes praised a few good Popes, and forbid him ever to commend any Pope again; "Because," said they, in these express words, "they are not Members of our Communion." This is one of those features which best characterises the spirit of Party. Some have endeavoured to carry on his Dictionary, but they have not been able to imitate him. The Continuator thought they had nothing more to do but to compile. We should be possessed of the genius and the logical faculties of Bayle, to acquit ourselves properly in a work of this kind.

BEAUMONT DE PEREFIXE (Hardouin), Preceptor to Louis XIV. and Archbishop of Paris. His History of Henry IV. which is only an abridgment, inspires us with an esteem for this great Prince, and is a good model for Princes. He wrote it expressly for his Pupil. It is said that Mezeray had some share in it; and in appearance there is a good deal of his manner of writing in it. But Mezeray was not master of that affecting style, so worthy, in many places, both of the Prince whose life Perfixe was writing, and of the man to whom it was addressed. The excellent counsels that are there interspersed for governing by himself, were not inserted till the second edition, published after the death of Cardinal Mazarin.

We

We are taught to know Henry IV. better in this history, than in that written by Daniel, the style of which is too dry, and where there is too much said of Father Cotton, and too little of the great qualities of Henry IV. and of the particulars of the life of this excellent Monarch. Péréfixe moves every heart naturally sensible, and tempts us almost to adore the memory of a Prince whose foibles were only those of an amiable man, but whose virtues were those of a great one. Péréfixe died in 1670.

DE BEAUSOBRE (Isaac), born at Niort, in 1659, of a family distinguished for the profession of arms, and one of those who did honour to their country, which they were forced to abandon. His *History of Manichæism* is one of the most profound, the most curious, and the best written, of his works. We find there developed that philosophic religion of Manés, which was deduced from the dogmas of the ancient Zoroaster and the ancient Hermès, a religion which seduced St. Augustin for a long time. This history is enriched with a fund of knowledge in antiquity, but, after all, it is only (like many other books not so well written) a collection of the errors of the human understanding. He died at Berlin, in 1738.

BENSERADE (Isaac de), born in Normandy, in 1612. His little country-house of Gentilli, to which he retired toward the latter part of his life, was furnished (if we may so speak) with inscriptions in verse, which had more merit than all his other works. 'Tis a pity that there was no collection made of them. He died in 1691.

BERGIER (Nicholas) had the title of Historiographer of France; but he is better known by his curious *History of the Highways in the Roman Empire*; surpassed, indeed, by our own in beauty, but not in usefulness. His son completed this useful work, and published it in the reign of Louis XIV. He died in 1623.

BERNARD (Mademoiselle), Authoress of several theatrical pieces, conjointly with the celebrated Bernard de Fontenelle, who wrote almost the whole of *Brutus*.

It is proper to observe here, that the *Allegorical Fable of Imagination and Happiness*, which has been imputed to her, was written by the Bishop of Nîmes La Parisière, successor to Fléchier.

BERNARD (James), of Dauphiny, born in 1658. He was a man of great erudition. His Journals are in great esteem. He died in Holland, in 1718.

BERNIER (Francis), surnamed *the Mogul*, born at Antwerp, in the year 1625. He was eight years Physician to the Emperor of India. His travels are curious. He wanted, in concert with Gassendi, to revive, in part, the Atomic system of Epicurus; in which, certainly, he had good reason on his side; for the several species of Nature could not be so uniformly reproduced the same, if the constituent principles of things were not invafiable. But the romance of Descartes then prevailed. He died a true Philosopher, in 1688.

Abbé LE BŒUF, born in 1687. One of the most learned men in the whole history of France. He should have been employed by a Colbert, but he came too late. He died in 1750.

BIGNON (Jeremiah), born in 1590. He left behind him a greater name than his works intituled him to. The best age for Literature was not yet arrived. The Parliament, to which he was Advocate-General, honoured his memory, with great justice. He died in 1656.

BILLAUT (Adam), known by the name of MASTER ADAM, a carpenter of Nevers. This singular genius must not be passed by, who, without the least knowledge in literature, became a Poet in his shop. We cannot neglect citing here the following Rondeau, which has more merit than many of those by Benferade.

Pour te guérir de cette sciatique,
 Qui te retient comme un paralytique,
 Entre deux draps sans aucun mouvement,
 Pren-moi deux brocs d'un fin jus de sarment;
 Puis li comment on le met en pratique.
 Prends-en deux doigts, et bien chauds les applique
 Sur l'épiderme où la douleur te pique;
 Et tu boiras le reste promptement,
 Pour te guérir.

Sur cet avis ne fais point hérétique,
 Car je te fais un serment autentique,
 Que si tu crains ce doux médicament,
 Ton Médecin pour ton soulagement,
 Fera l'essai de ce qu'il communique
 Pour te guérir.

To cure my friend of his sciatic,
 Which long has held him paralytic,
 Between the sheets your limbs recline,
 And near you place a bowl * of wine;
 Which thus apply. Be sure a drop
 Upon the suff'ring part you pop,
 And quaff the rest, before you stop,
 To cure my friend.

Of this prescription have no fear;
 For as example makes all clear,
 That all your doubts may hence be ended,
 Your Doctor, from the first, intended,
 Himself to quaff the dose commended
 To cure my friend.

He had pensions from Cardinal Richelieu, and from Gaston, brother to Louis XIII. and died in 1662.

BOCHART (Samuel), born at Rouën in 1599. He was a Calvinist, and one of the best skilled of any man in Europe in Languages and History. He was one of those who went to Sweden to instruct and admire Queen Christina. He died in 1667.

BOILEAU DESPREAUX (Nicholas), of the Academy, born in the village of Crone, near Paris, in the year 1636. He first studied at the Bar, and afterwards at the Sorbonne †; but being disgusted with the chicanery of both, he delivered himself over intirely to his natural talents, and became the honour of France. His works have been so often commented upon, and so many of the minutiae in them have been taken notice of, that any thing which could be here said, would be superfluous.

* The French prescription says *two*; but I thought one sufficient.

† The Sorbonne is a school in France, where those who are designed for the Church, are sent to be instructed in divinity.

One remark here, however, appears essential; which is, that we should carefully distinguish in his Poems what is merely proverbial, from what is worthy of being precept. His Maxims are noble, wise, and useful; they are formed for men of sense and taste, for the best company. The Proverbs are only fit for the vulgar, and we know that the vulgar is to be met with in every rank of life.

Pour paraître honnête homme en effet il faut l'être.
 On me verra dormir au branle de sa roue *.
 Chaque âge a son esprit, ses plaisirs, & ses mœurs.
 L'esprit n'est point ému de ce qu'il ne croit pas.
 Le vrai-peut quelquefois n'être pas vraisemblable.

To appear a good man, in effect he must be so.
 They shall see me asleep on the wheel turning round *..
 Each age has its wit, its pleasures, and manners.
 The mind is not moved by the things it believes not.
 The truth may not always appear the most likely,

These extracts contain maxims worthy of persons of sense; but for lines such as these,

J'appelle un chat un chat, & Rolet un fripon.
 Va-t-en chercher ton pain de cuisine en cuisine.
 Quand je veux dire blanc, la quinteuse dit noir.
 Aimez-vous la muscade ? on en a mis partout.
 La raison dit Virgile, & la rime Quinaut †.

Such phrases better become the *Canaille*, than the conversations of polite company.

BOILEAU (Giles), born at Paris, in 1631, and elder brother to the former. He has left us some translations, which have more merit than his verses. He died in 1669.

BOILEAU (James), another elder brother of the famous Boileau Despréaux, a Doctor of the Sorbonne. He was a sort of heteroclite genius, and wrote some whimsical books; as, the *History of the Flagellants*, the *Immodest Accoutchemens*, the *Habits of the Priests*, &c. He died in 1716.

* The wheel of Fortune.

† These extracts are left in their original, as there is no translating proverbs literally. These and the preceding quotations are all detached lines.

BOINDIN (Nicholas), Treasurer of France, and Attorney-General of the Exchequer. He was a Member of the Academy of Belles-Lettres, and known by his excellent researches upon the ancient theatres, and on the Roman tribes. He wrote a lively Comedy, called *The Sea-port*. It was a satirical criticism. The Historical and Janesnist Dictionary treats it as atheistical. He never wrote any thing about religion. Then why insult the memory of a man whom the authors of that Dictionary never knew? He died in 1753.

BOISROBERT (Francis LE METEL); more known by his favour with Cardinal Richeliéu, and by his fortune, than by his merit. He composed eighteen pieces for the Theatre, which were not well received by any but his Patron. He died in 1662.

BOIVIN (John), born in Normandy, in the year 1633, brother to Louis Boivin, and like him also a good Commentator on the beauties of the Greek Authors. He died in 1726.

L'ABBE DU BOS. His *History of the League of Cambray* is profound, political, and interesting. It shews us the Customs and the Manners of the Times, and is a perfect model in its kind. All the Artists read with instruction his *Reflections on Poetry, Painting, and Music*. It is the most useful work that ever was published on these subjects, in any nation of Europe. There are but few errors in it, and a number of reflections just, new, and profound. It is not a methodical composition, but the Author thinks, and makes his readers think. And yet he understood not a note in music, never wrote a couplet in his life, and was not master of a single picture in the world. But he had read, seen, heard, and reflected much. He died in 1742.

BOSSU (René LE), born at Paris in 1731. A Regular Canon of St. Gèneviève. He laboured to reconcile Aristotle with Descartes, without knowing that neither one nor the other could stand the test. His *Treatise on the Epic Poem* has great reputation, but it will never make a Poet. He died in 1680.

BOSSUET

BOSSUET (James Benignant), of Dijon, born in 1627. Bishop of Condom, and afterwards of Méaux. He composed fifty-one works; but it is to his *Funeral Orations*, and his *Discourse upon Universal History*, that he is indebted for his fame.

It has been said, and often repeated in print, that this Bishop lived a married life; and St. Hyacinth, known by the part he took in the pleasantries of Matanasius, has passed for his son. But there never was the least proof of this story. A considerable family in Paris, which has produced persons of merit, affirms that a private contract of marriage had passed between Bossuet, then very young, and Mademoiselle Des-Vieux; that this Lady had made the sacrifice of her passion and her condition in life, to the preferment which the eloquence of her lover was likely to elevate him to in the Church, and consented never to take advantage of the contract, as it had not been confirmed either by the rites of the church or those of love; that Bossuet being thus set free from a marriage connection, entered into orders; and that after the death of this Prelate, it was this same family that regulated the renewals of leases, and all marriage-licenses, in that diocese.

This Lady, say the family above-mentioned, never abused the dangerous secret she was in possession of; but lived always upon terms of friendship with the Bishop, in a discreet and respectable union. He made her a present of as much money as purchased for her the little estate of Mauléon, five miles from Paris; upon which she assumed the name of Mauléon, and lived to the age of near a hundred.

With regard to the good Prelate himself, it has been said that he entertained some philosophical sentiments which did not exactly square with the tenets of theology; resembling a wise magistrate, who, while acting according to the letter of the law in his public capacity, carries his private notions sometimes above it, from a superiority of understanding. He died in 1704.

I THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

BOUCHENU DE VALBONNAIS (John-Peter), born at Grenoble*, in 1651. He travelled in his youth, and happened to be on board a ship in the English fleet, at the sea-fight of Solebay. He was afterwards First President of the Council to the Counts of Dauphiné. His memory is held in honour at Grenoble, for the good services he had rendered that City; and in the literary world, for the merits of his erudition. His *Memoirs of Dauphiné* were composed when he was blind, from notes he had taken from the books that were read to him upon that subject. He died in 1730.

BOUDIER, author of some natural and artless verses. He made on his death-bed, at the age of eighty-six, the following Epitaph for himself:

J' étais Poète, Historien ;
Et maintenant je ne suis rien.

As Historian and Poet I once was well known,
Tho' now I am nothing, beneath this cold stone.

BOUHIER, President of the Parliament of Dijon. His learning has rendered him famous. He translated some pieces of ancient Latin poetry into French verse. He said they could never be otherwise properly rendered; but his verses sufficiently prove the difficulty of the attempt.

BOUHOURS (Dominick), a Jesuit, born at Paris, in 1628. Both our language and our taste have been much indebted to him. He has left us some good works, upon which some good criticisms have been made. *Ex privatis odiis respublica crescit* †.

The Life of St. Ignatius Loyola, which he composed, is not much esteemed, and that of St. Francis Xavier abounds with contradictions; but his *Remarks on Language*, and more particularly his *Method of forming the Judgment upon Works of Genius*, will always be of

* A City of France in Dauphiny.

† I leave this sentence as I found it, but cannot perceive how it applies in this place. *Translator.*

service to young students who would improve and direct their taste in polite literature.

In these he has warned them to avoid all bombast, far-fetched conceits, and the *faux-brillant*. If he judges rather severely in some places Tasso, and other Italian poets, he generally condemns them with good reason. His style is pure and agreeable.

His little work of *The Method of forming the Judgment*, &c, mortified the Italians extremely, and became a national quarrel, at last. They were justly apprehensive that the opinions of Bouhours, supported by those of Boileau, would become the *jus et norma*. The Marquis Orfi, therefore, and some other of their writers, published three folio volumes in defence of some verses of Tasso.

It may be remarked, that Father Bouhours may be thought to have no right to reprehend the false thoughts of the Italians; he who had compared Ignatius Loyola to Cæsar, and Francis Xavier to Alexander. But he was seldom guilty of such absurdities.

BOUILLAUD (Ismael), of Loudun, born in 1605, well studied in history and the mathematics. He died in 1694.

The Count DE BOULAINVILLIERS, of the House of Crouy, the best skilled of any man in the kingdom in history, and the best qualified to write that of France, if he had not been rather too systematic. He styled the feudal Government "the matter-piece of human wit." He regretted the times, when the people being slaves of little tyrants, both ignorant and barbarous, had neither industry, commerce, or property; and he thought that a number of chieftains, oppressors of the people and enemies to monarchy, formed the most perfect Government*.

Notwithstanding his system, he was an excellent Citizen, as, in spite of his silly confidence in judicial Astrology, he was a perfect philosopher; of that kind, at least, which sets but little value upon life, and despises the article of death. His writings, which however one should peruse with some precaution, are pro-

* An Aristocracy.

found, and useful. At the end of his works they have printed a large tract, "to render the King of France "more opulent than all the Sovereigns of Europe "joined." But 'tis very evident that this supplement had not the Count of Boulainvilliers for its author. He died about the year 1720.

BOURDALOUE, born at Bruges, in 1632, a Jesuit. He was reckoned the best model of good preachers in Europe. He died in 1704.

BOURSAULT (Edmond), born in Burgundy, in 1638. His *Letters to Babet*, much esteemed at that time, are since become, like all the letters in that stile, an amusement only for young country readers. His comedy of *Æsop* is yet in representation. He died in 1701.

BOURSEIS (Amable) born in Auvergne in 1606. He was Author of several works of Politics and of Controversy, Sillon and he are suspected to have been the authors of the piece, intituled *The Political Testament*, attributed to Cardinal Richelieu. He died in 1672.

BOURSIER (Laurence), of the College of the Sorbonne, born in 1679, Author of the famous book *Of the Action of God upon his Creatures, or Of Natural Premotion*. It is a work of profound reasoning, strengthened by great erudition, and written in a very eloquent stile. But the attachment to certain dogmas has deprived this celebrated composition of much of its solidity and force. The Author seems to resemble a State Minister, who, after establishing general laws, would turn them afterwards to serve private interests.

It is very difficult to connect particular systems of grace with the universal doctrine of the eternal and immutable action of Providence over all its works. It must be confessed that there are only two hypotheses in philosophy, to explain the machinery of the world. Either God at first ordained, and Nature has implicitly obeyed the established order ever since; or God gives continually to every thing, both its being, and its modification of existence. A third supposition is inexplicable.

It is pompously written in the new Dictionary, Historical, Literary, Critical, and Jansenist, that Boursier, "like the eagle, rises into the skies, and dips his pen "in the bosom of God." This is a bold figure, to make an Ink-horn of the Deity. This is the first time that he was ever compared to a bottle of ink. He died in 1747.

BREBEUF (William) born in Normandy, in 1638. He is known by his translation of the *Pharsalia*; but it is not so generally known that he wrote *The Lucan Travestied*. He died in 1661.

BRETEUIL (Gabrielle-Emilia) Marchioness of Châtelet, born in 1706. She illustrated Leibnitz, and translated and wrote comments upon Newton; a merit of little esteem at Court, but respected among all nations that value themselves on knowledge, and who have admired the depth of her understanding, and the extent of her eloquence.

Of all the women who have shone an ornament to France, this Lady possessed the largest portion of genius, without ever affecting the least pre eminence. She died in 1749.

BRIENNE (Henry-Augustus de Loménie DE) Secretary of State. He has left us his Memoirs. It might be useful if other Ministers would leave theirs behind them, provided they were such as have been lately digested under the name of the Duke of Sully. He died in 1666.

Abbé DE BRUEYS, born in Languedoc, in 1639: Ten volumes of controversial writings which he has published, would have left his name in oblivion, if it was not for the little Comedy of *The Grumbler*, superior to all the farces of Moliere, and that of the *Advocate Patelin*, an ancient monument of the true Gallic naïveté, which he revived, and which will preserve his memory as long as there remains a Theatre in France.

Palaprat assisted him in both of these pleasant performances. They are the only works of genius

that two authors have ever composed in concert*. He died in 1723.

There is a very singular fact to be met with in the *Collection of Literary Anecdotes*, 1750, published by Durand, volume II. page 369, which it may not be amiss to quote in this place. The author's words are these: "The amours of Louis XIV. having been brought on the English stage, Louis XIV. in return, would have those of William III. represented also. The Abbé Bruëys was directed by M. de Torcy to write the piece; which, though approved of, was never performed." It is to be observed, that this same *Collection of Anecdotes*, which is stuffed with such sort of tales, is printed with approbation and privilege. But they never exhibited the amours of Louis XIV. on any London Theatre; and it is well known that King William never had any mistress. But if he had, Louis XIV. was too much attached to the forms of decency, to give orders that his intrigues should be made a public farce; nor was M. de Torcy a man to be employed on so silly a piece of business. In short, the Abbé Bruëys never did compose such a ridiculous work as is here attributed to him. One cannot too often repeat, that the greatest part of such Collections of Anecdotes, of the *Anas*, of the Secret Memoirs, &c. with which the press is generally so loaded, are nothing more than compilations made at hazard by hackney-writers.

LA BRUYERE (John), born at Dourdan, in 1644. He certainly drew his *Characters* from real and known persons. His book has made many bad imitators. What he has said towards the end against the Atheists, has its merit; but when he touches upon the subject of theology, he falls below even the Theologists themselves. He died in 1696.

* Voltaire, it would seem, had never heard of Beaumont and Fletcher. Perhaps Shakespeare had given him a surfeit of the English drama. *Translator.*

BRUMOY, a Jesuit. His *Greek Theatre* is reckoned the best work of the kind that we have. He has proved by his poetry, that it was much easier to translate and praise the Ancients, than to equal, by his own productions, the great Moderns. It may, besides, be a reproach to him not to have been sensible of the superiority of the French over the Greek Drama, and of the vast difference there is between *The Misanthrope** and *The Frogs*†.

BRUN (Peter LE) born at Aix, in 1661, of the Oratory. His critical work, *Upon Superstitious Practices*, is in request; but he was a Physician who treats of very few diseases, and was always an Invalid himself. He died in 1729.

BUFFIER (Claudius), a Jesuit. His *Artificial Memory* is very useful to those who would have the principal articles of history always ready at hand. Verse (I do not mean poetry) was employed, at first, for the same purpose; which was to imprint in the memories of men the events which they would preserve the remembrance of. He died in 1737.

BUSSY RABUTIN (Roger, Count of), born in the Nivernois, in 1618. He wrote with purity. Both his works and his misfortunes are well known. His *Amours of the Gauls*‡ is deemed but a middling kind of performance, in which he imitated Petronius, but fell very short of his original. The folly of the French was for a long time to imagine that all Europe was curious

* A Comedy of Moliere.

† Of Aristophanes.

‡ This was the cause of his disgrace. The piece was not intended for the press, but was presented in manuscript to the King, who was so displeased at it, that he sent the Author to the Bastille. Buffi Rabutin pretended that it had been altered and interpolated by malicious persons, before it was delivered. He made great interest, and wrote many ingenious and soothing addresses to his Majesty, to obtain his liberty, which he did at last; but was then exiled to his own Castle in the Country, where he remained until he died, without being able to get a remission of his sentence. His panegyric on Louis XIV. written in his banishment, is a finished piece. It is to be met with in his Memoirs. *Translator.*

about their amours and gallantries. A number of profligates, from this vanity, have written the history of their intrigues, that were never read even by the chamber-maids of their Mistresses. He died at Autun, in 1693.

The Chevalier DE CAILLY, who is known only under the name of *Accilly*, was attached to the Minister Colbert. The date of his birth, or his death, is not known. There is a collection of some hundreds of his Epigrams, among which there are a number of bad ones, but a few that are pretty enough. He wrote naturally, but without any imagination in the expression.

CALMET, a Benedictine, born in 1672. Nothing is more useful than his compilation of researches on the Bible. The facts are exact, and the citations faithful. He does not think, himself; but in bringing every thing to light, he affords good matter for reflection. He died in 1757.

CALPRENEDE (Walter DE LA), born at Cahors, about the year 1612. Gentleman in Ordinary to the King. It was he that first gave a vogue to prolix romances. The merit of such compositions consisted in the adventures, the contrivance of which was not destitute of art, and which were not impossible, though very improbable. Boiardo, Ariosto, and Tasso, on the contrary, have filled their epic poems with fictions quite out of nature. But the charms of their poetry, the numberless beauties of the detail, their charming allegories, those especially of Ariosto; these circumstances, I say, render their poems immortal; and the works of Calprenède, as well as others of the same stamp, are long fallen into contempt. Another thing too that has contributed to their fall, is the perfection to which our Theatre has risen. There is more of sentiment to be met with in our good Tragedies, and in our Operas, than there is in all those enormous volumes. These sentiments too are better expressed, and a knowledge of the human heart more deeply investigated in them; so that Racine and Quinault, who have in part imitated the stile of the old romance, have reduced them to oblivion, in speaking to the heart
 a language

a language more just, more tender, and more harmonious. He died in 1663.

CAMPISTRON (John), born at Toulouse, in 1656; a pupil and imitator of Racine. The Duke of Vendôme, whose Secretary he was, made his fortune, and Baron, the Comedian, a part of his reputation. There are affecting passages in his pieces: they are, indeed, but weakly written; but the stile is pure; and after him the language of our theatrical pieces was so much neglected, that it sunk almost into barbarity at last. Boileau deplored this corruption on his death-bed. He died in 1733.

DU CANGE (Charles du Fresne), born at Amiens, in 1610. His two *Glossaries* are useful for explaining all the customs of the Lower Empire, and the succeeding ages. We are astonished at the extent of his knowledge, and of his labours. Such men deserve our eternal acknowledgments, after those whose wit and genius have administered to our pleasure. He was one of those to whom Louis XIV. was liberal. He died in 1688.

CASSANDER, as well as Dacier, has rendered more service to the reputation of Aristotle, than all the pretended philosophers together. He translated the Rhetoric, as well as Dacier did the Poetics, of that famous Greek. We cannot but admire Aristotle, and the age of Alexander, when we see that the preceptor of that great man, however decried in his natural philosophy, was complete master of the principles of eloquence and poetry. Where is the natural philosopher of our days, who could instruct us how to compose an oration, or a tragedy? Cassander lived and died in the extremest poverty; which was the fault, not of his talents, but of his intractable character, which was ill-tempered and unfociable. Those who complain of fortune, may often blame themselves for their lot.

CASSINI (John Dominick), born in the province of Nice, in 1625, and called to Paris by Colbert, in 1666. He was one of the greatest astronomers of his time, but he commenced, like the others, with astrology. As he was naturalized in France, married there, had children in the kingdom, and died in Paris, he has a

right to be numbered among the French Writers. He has immortalized his name by his *Meridian of St. Petrus*, at Boulogne. It serves to shew the variations of the Earth's swiftmess, in its movement round the Sun. He was the first that shewed by the parallax of Mars, that the Sun must be at least thirty-three millions of miles from our globe. He foretold the course that the Comet of 1664, would take. He was the person that found out the five Satellites of Saturn. Huygens had not perceived any more than one; and this discovery of Cassini was celebrated by a medal, in the Medallie History of Louis XIV. He died in 1712.

CATROU, born in 1659. A Jesuit. He composed, in conjunction with Father Rouillé, twenty volumes of the Roman History. They endeavoured to investigate eloquence, but could not bring it to a precision. He died in 1737.

DU CERCEAU (John Antony), born in 1670. He was a Jesuit. There are among his French Poetry, which is but of a middling kind, some natural and happy lines. He has blended with the refined language of his own time the *Marotic* stile *, which enervates Poetry by its unhappy facility, and which impures the language of these times with obsolete words and expressions. He died in 1730.

CERISI (Germain-Habert, &c.). He was the Aurora of good taste, and of the establishment of the French Academy. His *metamorphosis of the eyes of Phyllis into stars*, was thought to be a chef d'œuvre, but ceased to be deemed so, as soon as good authors appeared. He died in 1655.

LA CHAMBRE (Marin Cureau DE), born at Mans in 1594. He was one of the first Academicians, and died in 1669. He and his son had some reputation.

CHANTEREAU (Louis le Fevre), born in 1588. A very learned man, and one of the first who digested the History of France; but he has given sanction to a great

* The Doggerel, or Hudibrastic measure and manner of writing verses; called *Marotic*, from *Clement Marot*, who first introduced it in France. *Translator*.

error in it, which is, that the hereditary fiefs did not commence until after the æra of Hugh Capet. If there was only the example of Normandy, given, or rather extorted, on the title of an hereditary fief, in 912, that alone would be sufficient to destroy the assertion of Chantereau, which many subsequent historians have since adopted, upon his credit. It is moreover certain, that Charlemagne instituted Fiefs with propriety in France, and that this form of Government was usual before him, in Lombardy, and in Germany. He died in 1658.

CHAPELAIN (John), born in 1595. Without *La Pucelle*, (*The Maid of Orleans*) he would have established a reputation in the literary world. This bad poem was worth more to him, than the Iliad was to Homer. Chapelain was, however, useful from his learning. He corrected the first verses of Racine. He commenced with being the oracle of authors, and finished with being their disgrace. He died in 1674.

LA CHAPELLE, Receiver General of Finances, and author of some Tragedies, which had success in their time. He was one of those who attempted to imitate Racine; for Racine formed, without designing it, a school, like the great painters. He was a Raphael, but never made a Julio-Romano. However, his first disciples wrote with some purity of language; and in the decadence which followed, we have seen, even in our own times, whole Tragedies, in which there are not a dozen verses together without some gross fault. Observe from what a height we are fallen, and to what excess we are arrived, after having had such excellent models!

CHAPELLE (Claudius l'Huillier), natural son to l'Huillier, Master of the Accompts. It is not true that he was the first who made use of redoubled rhimes; D'Assouci had used them before him, and even with some success.

Pourquoi donc, sexe au teint de rose,
 Quand la charité vous impose,
 La loi d'aimer votre prochain;
 Pouvez-vous me hair sans cause,
 Moi qui ne vous fis jamais rien?
 Eh! pour mon honneur je vois bien,
 Qu'il faut vous faire quelque chose, &c.

Tell me, coy one, tell me why,
 Since the laws of charity
 Say your neighbours you should love,
 You to me remain so shy,
 Who do nought your hate to move ?
 Then an honour it must prove,
 To do something speedily, &c.

There are a great many of these redoubled rhimes in Voiture. Chapelle succeeded better than the rest, in this stile, which possesses both harmony and grace; but in which he has often preferred a sterile abundance of rhyme to the thought and the turn of expression. His voluptuous life, and his great modesty, contributed not a little to the recommendation of his little pieces. It is known that in his *Voyage de Montpellier*, there are a great many traits of Bachaumont, son of the President Le Coigneux, one of the most amiable men of his time. Chapelle was, besides, one of the best pupils of Gassendi. But one should properly distinguish the eulogiums which so many men of letters have bestowed on Chapelle, and other small wits of his stamp, from the praises due to superior geniuses.—The character of Chapelle; of Bachaumont, of Brouffin, and of all that society of the *Marais**, was ease, gaiety, and freedom. We may judge of Chapelle by this impromptu, which I have never yet seen printed. He wrote it at table, just after Boileau had recited an Epigram of his.

Qu'avec plaisir de ton haut stile,
 Je te vois descendre au quatrain;
 Et que je t'épargnai de bile
 Et d'injures au genre humain,
 Quand renversant ta cruche à l'huile,
 Je te mis le verre à la main.

With pleasure, from your epic stile,
 I see you condescend to trifle—
 And more to spare your liver's bile,
 And your satiric rage to stifle,
 I would spill your lamps of oil,
 And give you flasks of wine to rife.

He died in 1686.

* One of the quarters of Paris, so called. *Translator.*

CHARAS, of the Academy of Sciences, the first that wrote well upon Pharmacy; so true it is, that under Louis XIV. all the arts began to enlarge their spheres. This Pharmacopoliſt travelling into Spain, was put into the Inquisition, on account of his being a Calvinist; but a prompt abjuration †, and the intercession of the French Ambassador, saved his life and liberty. He died in 1698.

CHARDIN (John), born at Paris, in 1643. No Traveller has left us more curious Memoirs. He died in London, in 1713.

CHARLEVAL (John Faucon DE RIS). One of those who acquired a reputation from the delicacy of their wit, without giving much to the press. The famous conversation of the Marshal d'Hocquincourt and of Father Canaye, printed in the works of St. Evremond, is Charleval's, all but the short dissertation upon Jansenism and Molinism, which St. Evremond has added. The style of the latter part is very different from that of the beginning. The late Monsieur de Caumartin, Counsellor of State, was in possession of the writings of Charleval, in the original manuscript. There is an article in Moreri's Dictionary, which says, "that the President de Ris, Nephew to Charleval, refused to publish the works of his Uncle, lest the name of an author might be looked upon as a blot in his scutcheon, or a disgrace to his family." One would be apt to suppose a person to be both of a mean fortune, and an abject spirit, to have conceived such an idea, in the age we are here speaking of; and it was in a Lawyer an instance of pride becoming only the times of war and barbarism, when learning was abandoned intirely to the Gown, from a contempt both of one and the other.

CHARPENTIER (Francis), born at Paris, in 1620. An useful Academician. He has left us a translation of the *Cyropædia*. He was warmly of opinion that all the inscriptions on the public monuments of France, should

† And this the wretched Priests call making a *Convert*. *Translator.*

be written in the native tongue. And indeed it is, in effect, a sort of degradation of a language that is spoken throughout all Europe, not to make use of it in its own country. It is in some degree to disappoint the very end of such records, to compose them in a language which above three-fourths of this very Public understand not. Besides, there is a species of barbarism in latinizing French names; so that posterity may not perhaps be able to conceive what or who is meant by the expression. Surely the names of Rocroi and of Fontenoi have both a nobler sound and better effect, than those of Rocrosum and of Fonteniacum*. He died in 1702.

LA CHATRE (Edmond Marquis de) has left us his Memoirs, and died in 1645.

CHAULIEU (William), born in Normandy, in 1639, known by his careless poetry, and the bold and voluptuous beauties which are to be met with in it. The greatest part of his writings breathe a spirit of liberty, of pleasure, and of a philosophy above all prejudices. This was his character. He lived in luxury, but died with intrepidity, in 1720.

* I do not agree with M. Voltaire in these vain notions about his own language. Inscriptions are not designed for the illiterate, and a scholar will always be able to understand them, in Latin, which is a fixed language; while French being ever a fluctuating one, may hardly be intelligible in distant æras. The French of the fifteenth century, requires a glossary and construction, now; but the Latin spoken before we ever began to reckon by centuries, remains word for word the same, at present, both in sense and spelling. Epitaphs, particularly, should be always written in Latin. We may speak of the living in a living language, but should celebrate the dead in a dead one, if we would have their names or characters survive. *Pere Lucas*, though a Frenchman, was not so partial to his own language; for, in one of his Latin orations, speaking upon this subject, he defends the use of Latin inscriptions, very ingeniously, in the following words: *Non se tantum demittit, non eo usque abjicit, ac veluti prosternit gloria, ut vili popello se primum committat: amat illa nobilitum et eruditorum per manus hinc, si necesse est, descendere ac prolabi gradatim.* "Glory does not so quickly let itself down, or throw itself away, and as it were humble its head in the dust, as to deliver itself without reserve to the vulgar, all at once. It loves first to pass through the hands of the noble and the learned, and thence, if so it must be, descend or slide down by insensible degrees." *Translator.*

The

The verses of his that are ofteneft quoted, are the piece intitl'd *la Goute* *, which begins thus:

Le destructeur impitoyable
Des marbres et de l'airain.
The cruel destroyer
Of marble and brafs;

and the Epistle upon Death, to the Marquis de La Fare.

Plus j'approche du terme et moins je le redoute,
Sur des principes sûrs mon esprit affermi,
Content, perusadé, ne connaît plus le doute;
Des suites de ma fin je n'ai jamais frémi.
Exempt des préjugés j'affronte l'imposture
Des vaines superstitions;
Et me ris des preventions
De ces faibles esprits dont la triste censure
Fait un crime à la nature
De l'usage des biens que lui fit son auteur.
The nearer to dying the less is my dread,
In principles certain I still put my trust,
Content and convinced I ne'er trouble my head,
For what shall succeed when I'm laid in the dust.
From prejudice free, I despise the imposture
Of vain superstitions,
And scorn the indictions
Of those feeble mortals whose ignorant censure
Makes it sinful in nature,
To taste of the sweets designed for the creature.

Another Epistle to the same person, and which made more noise in the world, opens thus:

J'ai vû de près le Styx, j'ai vû les Euménides;
Déjà venaient frapper mes oreilles timides,
Les affreux cris du chien de l'empire des morts;
Et les noirs vapeurs, et les brulans transports
Allaient de ma raison offusquer la lumière;
C'est lorsque j'ai senti mon ame toute entiere
Se ramenant en foi faire un dernier effort
Pour braver les horreurs que l'on joint à la mort.
Ma raison m'a montré, tant qu'elle a pû paraître,
Que rien n'est en effet de ce qui ne peut être;
Que ces fantômes vains sont enfans de la peur
Qu' une faible nourrice imprime en notre cœur,
Lorsque de loups-garoux, qu' elle-même elle pense,
De démons et d'enfer elle endort notre enfance.

* I have not seen the poem; but from the lines, I suppose *la Goute* means *the drop*, according to the old adage of *Gutta cavat lapidem.*—
Translator.

The Styx I've nearly seen, the Furies heard ;
 My timorous ears with th' howlings have been scared
 Of three-mouthed Cerberus, that guards the dead ;
 The clouds of sulphur, and the billows dread
 Of liquid fire, have given me such affright,
 As almost had extinguished reason's light ;
 Till sound philosophy flew to my aid,
 And asked me, Why of phantoms so afraid ?
 Then proved this truth, by demonstration clear,
 That what is *nothing*, nothing has to fear ;
 That all such bug-bears are from terror bred,
 Which silly nurses cram into our head ;
 And with those scare-crows which themselves have dreamed,
 Our infant minds to cowardice are framed.

These pieces are not correct ; they are but statues of Michael Angelo just sketched. The stoicism of these sentiments did not stir up any persecution against him ; for though an Abbé, he was but little known among the Theologians, and only lived in private in the society of a few friends. It was his business alone to put the finishing hand to his own writings ; but he would never take the trouble of correcting them. They have printed several insipid trifles of his, written and spoken in social converse, which the greediness of Editors had collected, and the bad taste of the times had encouraged. The prefaces which stand at the head of this collection, are penned by certain obscure persons, who think it is to be good company themselves, to repeat all the commonplace conversations of those who are so.

CHEMINAIS, a Jesuit. He was tiled the Racine, and Bourdaloue the Corneille, of Preachers.

CHERON (Elizabeth), born at Paris, in 1648, famous in music, in painting, and in poetry ; and more known under her own name than that of her husband, the Sieur LE HAY. She died in 1711.

CHEVREAU (Urban), born at Loudun, in 1613. He was a man of sense and genius, who had a good deal of reputation, in his time. He died in 1701.

CHIFFLET (John-James) born at Befançon, in 1588. We have several disquisitions of his. He died in 1660. There have been seven writers of the same name.

CHOISI (Francis de), born at Rouen, in 1644. He was Envoy at Siam, and published an account of it. He has composed several histories; a translation of *The Imitation of Christ*, dedicated to Madame Maintenon, with this motto, *Concupiscet rex decorem tuum*, and the *Memoirs of the Countess Des Barres*. This same Countess Des Barres was himself. He habited himself, and lived, as a woman for several years; and purchased under the name of the Countess Des Barres, an estate near Tours. These memoirs give an account with great naïveté of several intrigues he had under this disguise. During this interval he wrote the history of the Church. In his Memoirs of the Court we meet with some things true, some things false, and many things too much hazarded; and the stile in which they are written is rather too familiar.

CLAUDE (John), born in Agenois, in 1619. Minister of Charenton, the oracle of his party, and a worthy emulator of the Bossuets, the Arnolds, and the Nicolas. He composed fifteen works, which were read with avidity while the disputes lasted. Most polemical writings have but their season, while the Fables of La Fontaine, and the poems of Ariosto, will entertain our latest posterity. Five or six thousand folios of controversy are already buried in oblivion. He died at the Hague in 1687.

LE COINTE (Charles), born at Troyes, in 1611. He was of the Oratory. His *Ecclesiastical Annals*, printed at the Louvre by order of the King, are an useful monument, or record. He died in 1681.

COLLET (Philibert), born at Dombes, in 1643. A civilian, and an independant man. He was excommunicated by the Archbishop of Lyons on account of some parish-dispute; and he wrote against excommunication. He reprobated the establishment of monasteries, and all religious houses; and, in his *Treatise on Usury*, he supported warmly the usage authorized in Bresse, (a Province of France) of subjecting the principal to the bearing of interest, in bonds; a custom approved of in more than the half of Europe, and practised in the rest by all negociators

gociators of money, in spite of the law that excludes it. He affirmed also, that the tythes paid to the clergy were not of right divine. He died in 1718.

COLOMIEZ (Paul). The year of his birth is not known, and most of his works begin now to be in the same predicament. However, they may afford some amusement to those who are fond of literary researches. He died in London, in 1692.

COMMIRE, a Jesuit. He had a character among those who vainly imagined they could write good Latin verse, and thought foreigners might revive the Augustan age, in a language which they did not know even how to pronounce.

In silvam ne ligna feras *.

CONTI (Armand Princé of), brother to the Great Condé, designed at first for the Church, at a time when superstitious prejudices had ranked the dignity of a Cardinal superior to that of a Prince of the Blood Royal in France. It was he who had the misfortune to be Generalissimo of the Fronde, against the Court, and against his brother too. He became a devotée and a Jansenist afterwards. We have of his, *The Duties of the Great*. He wrote also on Grace, against the Jesuit Des-Champs, his old tutor. He wrote likewise against plays; but, perhaps he had better have written against the civil wars. Cinna and Polyuctes were as useful and respectable in society, as the war of the gates † was unjust and ridiculous.

CORDEMOI (Gerald), born at Paris. We owe the clearing up the chaos of the two first races of the Kings of France to him; and for this useful undertaking we are obliged to the Duke of Montausier, who commanded him to write the history of Charlemagne, for the instruc-

* The Latin proverb is of the same import with the English one of "Carry not your coals to Newcastle:" But I don't perceive the justness of its application here. *Translator*.

† The civil war of the Fronde was so called, because the Parliament had issued an arret to oblige all owners of *Portes-cocheres*, or gate-ways, to supply a man for the Parisian army. *Ibid*.

tion of Monseigneur. He found in the ancient authors nothing but absurdities and contradictions. The difficulty encouraged him, and he performed his task with success. He died in 1684.

CORNEILLE (Peter), born at Rouen, in 1606. Tho' they exhibit only six or seven pieces of thirty-three that he has composed, he will ever be considered as the father of the Theatre. He was the first who roused the genius of the nation; and that ought to make atonement for about twenty of his plays, which are in many places nearly on a level with the worst we have, in the badness of the stile, the coldness of the plot, ill placed and insipid passions, and a heap of fine-spun declamation, which is the very bane of Tragedy. But we ought to judge of a great man by his finished, and not by his faulty pieces. It is said that his translation of *the Imitation of Christ*, has passed through two-and-thirty editions. It is as difficult to believe it, as it is to read it, once. He received some gratuity from the King in his last illness. He died in 1684. It has been asserted, in several of the collections of anecdotes, that his place used to be watched, whenever he went to the Theatre, and that the audience rose on his appearance, and clapped their hands. But, unluckily, the Public are not so apt to render justice; and the fact is, that the King's Company of Comedians refused to perform his last pieces, and he was forced to give them to some other troop.

CORNEILLE (Thomas), born at Rouen, in 1625; a person who would have enjoyed a great reputation, if he had not had a brother. He has left us four-and-thirty dramatic compositions; but died poor, in the year 1709.

COUSIN (Louis), born at Paris, in 1627. He was President of the Mint. Nobody ever opened the sources of history more than he. His translations of the Byzantine Collection, and of Eusebius of Cæsarea, has put it into the power of all the world to judge between the true and false, and to perceive with what prejudices and party-spirit history has been almost always written. The Republic of Letters owes him many obligations for a number of translations of the Greek historians, which

would have alone distinguished his name. He died in 1707.

The BARON DES COUTURES translated Lucretius into prose, and wrote comments upon it, about the middle of the reign of Louis XIV. He was of the same opinion with that philosopher*, about the greatest part of the first principles of things. He thought matter to be eternal, as indeed all the Ancients did. The Christian religion is the only one that ever combated this notion.

CRÉBILLON (Jolliot), born at Dijon; in 1672. We are ignorant whether a certain attorney, whose name was Prior, first made him a poet, as it is said in the Historical Portative Dictionary, in four volumes. It is rather more probable, that Nature had a greater hand in it, than the attorney. We yield as little faith to the anecdote told of his son, in the same work. We cannot be too diffident of all such little stories. Crébillon has a claim to be reckoned among the geniuses who reflected a lustre upon the Age of Louis XIV. since his Tragedy of *Rhadamistus*, the best of his pieces, was exhibited in 1710. If Despréaux, who died about that time, pronounced this Tragedy to be worse than any of Pradon's, it must be because he had arrived at that age of life and disposition of mind, when people become sensible only to the defects, and insensible to the beauties of a work. He died at the age of eighty-eight, in 1762.

DACIER (Andrew), born at Castres, in 1651. He was a Calvinist, as was also his wife; but they both conformed to the Catholic religion together. He was Keeper of the Books of the King's Cabinet, at Paris; an office that now subsists no longer. He was more a man of learning than a good writer; but he was, and will ever remain, a very useful one, on account of his translations, and many of his notes. He died at the Louvre, in 1722. We owe to Madame Dacier, his wife, the translation of Homer; the most faithful in the stile, though it wants force;

* M. Voltaire seems to confound the Philosopher and the Poet together, here. Epicurus was the first, or Democritus before him; Lucretius was the second only. *Translator.*

and the most instructive in the notes, though they do not possess all that refinement of taste that we could wish. She was not sensible, it has been observed, that what might have pleased the Greeks in the barbarous ages of that people, and what was respected as ancient, in after-ages more enlightened, would have disgusted, if written in the times of Plato and Demosthenes. But, in fact, no woman ever rendered more service to the Republic of Letters, than she did; and Madame Dacier is certainly one of the most remarkable persons of the Age of Louis XIV.

D'AGUESSEAU (Henry-Francis), Chancellor, and the most learned magistrate that ever lived in France, being master of half the modern languages in Europe, besides the Latin, Greek, and a tolerable acquaintance with the Hebrew; perfectly read in history, profoundly versed in law, and, what is yet more uncommon, a man of eloquence. He was the first at the bar who spoke with force and purity at the same time. Before his time, the pleaders used only to speak sentences. He conceived a project for reforming the law; but he was only able to effect four or five useful alterations. A single person was not capable of that excessive labour which Louis XIV. had undertaken with the assistance of a great number of magistrates. He died in 1751.

DANCHET (Antony) has succeeded, by the help of music, in some operas, which are not quite so bad as his tragedies. His prologue of the Secular Games, before Hesioné, passes for a good piece, and may be put in comparison with that of Amadis. The following beautiful apostrophé, imitated from Horace, has been preserved.

Père des saisons et des jours,
Fai naître en ces climats un siècle mémorable.
Puisse à ses ennemis ce peuple redoutable
Être à jamais heureux, et triompher toujours !
Nous avons à nos loix asservi la victoire ;
Aussi loin que tes feux nous portons nôtre gloire.
Fai dans tout l'univers craindre nôtre pouvoir,
Toi qui vois tout ce qui respire,
Soleil, puisses-tu ne rien voir
De si puissant que cet empire !

Parent of seasons and of light,
 Bring back a memorable age,
 And with that glory us bedight,
 To shine in the historic page.

O! let us be successful still,
 And victory command at will,
 Far as thy piercing eye extends;
 That thou who all things in a day
 Canst supervise, may'st not survey
 An empire that our own transcends.

It is in this Prologue that we find the sonnet which the poet Rousseau * since took his hints from, in composing the too free couplets which caused his disgrace. The original pieces of Danchet are, perhaps, better than the parodies of Rousseau. The following is one of Danchet's, that is best remembered.

Que l'amant qui devient heureux
 En devienne encor plus fidelle!
 Que toujours dans les mêmes nœuds
 Il trouve une douceur nouvelle!
 Que les soupirs et les langueurs
 Puissent seuls fléchir les rigueurs
 De la beauté la plus sévère!
 Que l'amant comblé de faveurs,
 Sache les goûter et les taire.

May the lover who is blest,
 The more constant therefore prove,
 And possession be the best
 Conservator of his love!
 Be his passion all the means
 Used to win th' obdurate fair;—
 And the favours he obtains
 May he taste, but not declare!

DANCOURT (Florent-Carton), an Advocate, born in 1662, chose to apply his labours to the stage, rather than the bar. What Regnard † was, in comparison of Moliere, in polite Comedy, the comic Dancourt was in Farce. Many of his representations, even at this time, draw full

* Not the late John-James Rousseau, but John-Baptist, hereafter mentioned in this catalogue. *Translator.*

† Mentioned hereafter, in this class. *Ibid.*

houses; they are lively, and the dialogue is natural. The number of pieces written in this familiar stile, is infinite; but they are more accommodated to the taste of the vulgar, than of more refined wits. But amusement is one of the requisites of mankind, and this species of low comedy, which is easily represented, is greedily devoured, both at Paris and in the Provinces, by the multitude, who are not susceptible of more refined pleasures. He died in 1726.

DANET (Peter), one of those labourers in literature, who are more useful than famous. His *Dictionaries* of the Latin Tongue and of Antiquities, are among the number of those memorable books composed *in usum Delphini*, for the instruction of the Dauphin, Monseigneur, and which, though they did not much improve the prince, were an advantage to the literature of France. He died in 1709.

DANGEAU (Louis, Abbé DE), born in 1643, an excellent Academician, who died in 1723.

DANIEL (Gabriel), a Jesuit, and Historiographer of France, has rectified the errors of Mézeray, in his account of the first and second race of our kings. It is objected to him that his diction is not always pure; that his stile is too weak; that he rarely interests us; that he wants description; that he has not made us sufficiently acquainted with the customs, the manners, or the laws, of the times he treats of; and that his history is only a tedious detail of military operations, in the account of which a writer of his profession must often, and unavoidably, betray his ignorance. The Count de Boulainvilliers says, in his *Memoirs* upon the Government of France, that Daniel is chargeable with ten thousand mistakes. This is a hard censure: but, luckily for him, the greater number of these errors are of as little consequence as the corrections that should be put in their place. For what signifies it whether it was the left or the right wing, that gave way at the battle of Montlheri? Of what consequence is it through what passage Louis le Gros entered the ruins of Puiset? A native ought to know by what steps the government of a country had changed its form;

form; what have been the rights, and what the usurpations, of the different states; what the operation of the states-general, and what the true spirit of the nation. Now the great defect of Daniel is, either his not having been thoroughly informed of the rights or constitution of the nation, or his having misrepresented them. He has intirely omitted the celebrated states of 1355. He has not mentioned the Popes, nor even spoken of the great and good King Henry the Fourth, but like a Jesuit. He has shewn no knowledge in the finances of the kingdom, nor of the interior, nor the manners of it. He pretends in his preface, and it has been repeated after him, that the first æras of the history of France were more interesting than those of Rome, because Clovis and Dagobert had more territory than Romulus and Tarquin. He happened not to be sensible that the feeble beginnings of every thing that is great, engage the attention of men. We are pleased to see the small origin of a people, to whom France was only a province, and which extended its empire to the Elbe, the Euphrates, and the Niger; whereas it must be confessed, that our history, and that of the rest of Europe, from the fifth century of the Vulgar Æra to the fifteenth, is but a chaos of barbarous actions, performed by persons of as barbarous names.

DARGONE (Noel), born at Paris, in 1634, a Carthusian Friar of Gaillon. He was the only priest of his order who ever cultivated literature. His *Miscellanies*, under the name of *Vigneul de Marville*, are full of curious anecdotes, though not authentic. He died in 1704.

DESCARTES (René), born in Touraine, in 1596, son to a Counsellor of the Parliament of Brittany. He was the greatest Mathematician of his time, but the most ignorant in the philosophy of nature, if compared with those who have appeared in the world since. He passed almost his whole life out of France, that he might be able to publish his philosophy to the world without restraint, after the example of Salmasius*, who did the

* Cotemporary and friend of Descartes.

same. It has been asserted that he had an elder brother, Counsellor of the Parliament of Brittany, who held him in contempt, and said, that it was unworthy of the brother of a Counsellor to be a Mathematician. Having sought for repose in the solitude of Holland, he was disappointed. A person whose name was Voërius, and another called Shockius, two Professors of the scholastic jargon that was still in vogue, commenced a prosecution against him, upon the ridiculous charge of Atheism, which all despicable Doctors of Theology have ever urged against the philosophers. In vain had Descartes exerted his whole genius in collecting together all the proofs of the Deity, and in attempting to super-add new demonstrations to the thesis; his enemies, notwithstanding, compared him to Vanini, in print. Not that Vanini was an Atheist, for the contrary had been evinced; but as he had been burnt at the stake for such a supposed crime, they could not think of any comparison more odious. Descartes with much difficulty obtained some slight remission of his punishment, by the sentence of the Academy of Groningen. His *Meditations*, and his *Discourse upon the Method*, &c. are still held in esteem; but all his Natural Philosophy is fallen to the ground, because it was neither founded upon geometry, nor upon experiment. He had for a long time so great a reputation, that La Fontaine, who was truly ignorant, but an echo of the public voice, said of him,

Descartes ce mortel dont on éut fait un Dieu,
 Dans les siècles passés, et qui tient le milieu
 Entre l'homme et l'esprit, comme entre l'huître et l'homme
 Le tient tel de nos gens franche bête de somme.

In former times Descartes had been
 Esteemed a god; as placed between
 Spirit and man; as dunces class
 'Twixt the human and the insect mass.*

* Pope pays a more hyperbolic compliment to Newton, though he disgraces it by the grossness of his simile.

“ Superior beings, when of late they saw
 “ A mortal man explore all Nature's law,
 “ Admired such wisdom in an earthly shape,
 “ And shewed a *Newton* as we shew an *ape*.”

Translator.

The

The Abbé Genêt, in the present age, has given himself the idle trouble of putting the Physics of Descartes into French verse. It is only since the year 1730, that they have begun to recover themselves in France from all the errors of this chimerical philosophy, when geometry and experimental philosophy have been better cultivated. The fate of Descartes in physics, may be compared to that of Ronsard in poetry. He died at Stockholm, in 1650.

DESMARETS DE SAINT-SORLIN (John), born at Paris, in 1595. He took great pains with the Tragedy of *Miramus*, of Cardinal Richelieu. His own Comedy, of *The Visionaries*, was esteemed a master-piece; but it was because Moliere had not yet appeared. He was Comptroller-General of the Extraordinaries of the War Department, and Secretary of the Marine of the Levant. Towards the latter end of his life he was more known by his fanaticism, than his writings. He died in 1676.

DESTOUCHES (Néricaut), after having composed several Comedies, was employed in the affairs of France, at the English Court; and having executed this employ with success, he returned, and wrote Comedies again. We do not, in his pieces, meet with the strength and gaiety of Regnard, and still less the paintings of the human heart, that natural, that true pleasantry, that excellent comic humour, for which the inimitable Moliere was deservedly celebrated; but next to them he bore some reputation. He has written some pieces which have had success, although the humour of them is rather somewhat strained. He has, however, kept clear of that species of Comedy which is of a languid nature; and of that sort of domestic Tragedy which is neither tragic nor comic, but a monster born of the declining genius of authors and the exhausted spirit of the polite Age of Louis XIV. His Comedy of *The Proud Man* * is his best performance, and will probably keep possession of the Theatre, though the character of the principal is not well filled up; but the rest of the characters seem to be masterly written.

* Le Glorieux.

DOMAT, a famous civilian. His book on the *Civil Law* has a great character.

DOUJAT (John), born at Toulouse, in 1639, a civilian, and a man of letters. He was the father of a child and a book, every year. The same thing was said of Tiraqueau. The *Journal des Savans* calls him a Great Man. We should not be so prodigal of such titles. He died in 1688.

DUBOIS (Gerard), born at Orleans, in 1629, of the Oratory. He wrote *The History of the Church of Paris*, and died in 1696.

DUCHE, valet-de-chambre to Louis XIV. composed some Tragedies for the Court, on subjects taken from the Scriptures, after the example of Racine; but not with the same success. The Opera of *Iphigenia in Tauris* is his best performance. It is in the great stile, and, though only an opera, retraces a just idea of the best Greek Tragedies. This taste did not long subsist; for soon after they descended to the silly Ballets composed of detached Acts, contrived merely to introduce dances; so that even the Opera degenerated at the time when every thing else fell to decay. Madame de Maintenon raised the fortune of this author, and recommended him so strongly to Monsieur Pontchartrain, Secretary of State, that the Minister, concluding Duché to be a person of some consequence, thought proper to pay him a visit; while the then insignificant and obscure Duché, seeing the Secretary of State call upon him, concluded that he was come to order him to the Bastille.

DUCHESNE (Andrew) born in Touraine, in 1584. He was Historiographer to the King, and author of several histories and genealogical disquisitions. He was called the Father of the History of France. He died in 1640.

DURFESNOY (Charles), born at Paris, in 1611. He was both a Painter and a Poet. His Poem on *Painting*, was well received by those who could relish other Latin verses than those of the Augustan period. He died in 1665.

DUFRENY (Charles), born at Paris, in 1648. He passed for a grandson of Henry IV. and resembled him.
His

His father had been valet of the wardrobe to Louis XIII. and this son was the same to Louis XIV. who always countenanced him, notwithstanding the irregularities of his manners and conduct; which, however, did not preserve him from dying poor. With a great share of wit, and more than one talent, he could never frame a regular work. He has left us a great many Comedies; and there is hardly one of them which does not contain humorous, but singular scenes. He died in 1724.

DUPLEIX (Scipio de Condom), though born in 1569, may be enumerated in the Age of Louis XIV. having lived under his reign. He was the first historian who quoted his authorities in the margin; a voucher absolutely necessary, except when one writes the history of one's own times, or speaks of facts generally known. His *History of France* is not preserved in libraries, at present, because since his time there have been others better compiled, and better written. He died in 1661.

ESPRIT (James), born at Béziers, in 1611, author of a book, intitled, *Of the Falseness of Human Virtues*, which is nothing more than a commentary on the Duke of Rochefoucault's *Maxims*. The Chancellor Séguier, who had a taste for his literature, procured him an appointment of King's Council. He died in 1678.

ESTRADES (the Marshal d'). His letters are as much esteemed as those of Cardinal d'Osat; and it is a peculiarity to be taken notice of in France, that the common dispatches are often excellent works. He died in 1686.

The Marquis DE LA FARE, known by his *Memoirs*, and several entertaining poems. His talent for poetry, however, did not shew itself 'till he was about sixty years of age*. It was Madame de Caylus, one of the most charming women of her time, both for wit and beauty, who first inspired his verse; and the piece he addressed to her, was, perhaps, the best of his performances.

* They tell a similar story of the Count de Bonarelli. His first poem was a Pastoral, which is reckoned equal to *Guarini's Pastor Fido*, and *Tasso's Amintás*. *Translator*.

M'abandonnant un jour à la tristesse,
 Sans esperance, et même sans désirs,
 Je regrettais les sensibles plaisirs
 Dont la douceur enchanta ma jeunesse.
 Sont-ils perdus, disais-je, sans retour ?
 Et n'es-tu pas cruel, amour !
 Toi que j'ai fait dès mon enfance,
 Le maître de mes plus beaux jours,
 D'en laisser terminer le cours
 A l'ennuyeuse indifférence ?
 Alors j'apperçus dans les airs
 L'enfant maître de l'univers,
 Qui plein d'une joie inhumaine,
 Me dit, en souriant, *Tyrfis*, ne te plain plus,
 Je vais mettre fin à ta peine,
 Je te promets un regard de *Caylus*.

O D E T O C U P I D :

A P A R A P H R A S E .

Oppressed with sadness, and to spleen a prey,
 Without a hope, almost without desires,
 How I regret the joys long flown away,
 The grateful fuel to my youthful fires !

And are they gone ! for ever gone ! I cried :
 Too cruel Love, recal them, or I die ;
 Thou who hast all that's worth of life supplied,
 Thou master of my song, and revelry.

Blind God, prevent my tedious days to waste
 In lifeless yawns, or cold indifference ;
 With art divine retrieve the minutes past,
 Or suffer not another to commence.

While thus I prayed, the Deity appeared,
 Cleaving with amorous speed the liquid air ;
 My gloom disperses, every pulse was cheered,
 While the kind God did this behest declare :

No longer, *Tyrfis*, thy sad fate deplore,
 No more a life of apathy upbraid ;
 Thy former feelings I again restore,
 And *Caylus* shall confirm the grant I've made.

He died in the year 1713.

LA FAYETTE (Maria-Magdeleine de la Vergne, Countess DE). Her *Princess of Cleves*, and her *Zayde*, were the first Romances in which the manners of polite life and natural events are described with grace*. Before her time, these sort of writings were composed of improbable adventures, told in a bombastic style. She died in 1693.

FELIBIEN (Andrew), born at Chartres, in 1619. He was the first who, in the inscriptions of the Hôtel de Ville, gave Louis XIV. the epithet of *Grand*, or *Great*. His *Dialogues on the Lives of the Painters*, is the work which has done him the most honour. He is elegant, profound, and there is a taste breathing throughout his writings; but he has said too little in too many words, and writes intirely without method. He died in 1695.

FENELON (Francis de Salignac), Archbishop of Cambray, was born in Perigord, in 1651. He left behind him fifty-six different works, all of which seem to be dictated by a soul of virtue; but his *Telemachus* inspires it. He was vainly attacked by Gueudeville, and by the Abbé Faidit. He died at Cambray, in 1715.

After the death of Fénelon, Louis XIV. threw into the fire all the manuscripts which the duke of Burgundy had preserved of his preceptor †. Ramsay, a pupil of this celebrated Archbishop, wrote these words to me: "If he had been born in England, he would have unfolded his genius, and given it full scope, without fearing for his principles, which nobody knew."

FERRAND, Counsellor of the Court of Aids. We have some pretty verses of his. He rivalled Rousseau in the epigram and the madrigal. I give you here a specimen of the style in which Ferrand wrote.

D'amour et de mélancolie,
Celemnus enfin consumé,
En fontaine fut transformé;
Et qui boit de ses eaux, oublie
Jusqu'au nom de l'objet aimé.

* These were published under the name of Mr. Segrais, on whom she bestowed them. *Translator*.

† He did not long survive this piece of sacrilege. *Ibid*.

Pour mieux oublier Egerie,
 J'y courus hier vainement ;
 A force de changer d'amant,
 L'infidèle l'avoit tarie.

With love and melancholy wafed,
 Celemnus to a fount was turned *,
 Whose waters by fond lovers tasted,
 No more in hopeful flames they burned.
 To cure despair, I thither went,
 Egeria's coynefs to defy,
 When lo! behold the sad event!
 Her former fwains had drank it dry.

The critics observe, that Ferrand has more of the natural, of grace and delicacy, in his gallant pieces, and that Rousseau has more strength and depth in his debauched ones. He died in 1720.

FEUQUIERES DE PAS (the Marquis), born at Paris in 1648. An Officer compleatly skilled in the art of war, and an excellent commentator, though perhaps rather too severe a critic. He died in 1711.

LE FEVRE (Tanegui), born at Caën in 1615. A Calvinist, and a Professor at Saumur; despising those of his own sect, and yet living among them; more a Philosopher than a Huguenot. He wrote as well in Latin, as it is possible to do in a dead language, and made Greek verses which deserved but few readers. The greatest obligation for which the Republic of Letters is indebted to him, is his having given Madame Dacier to the world. He died in 1678.

LE FEVRE (Anne), Madame DACIER. Born a Calvinist, at Saumur, in 1651, illustrious for her literature. The Duke of Montausier employed her upon one of the books named the *Dauphin's* †, for the instruction of Monseigneur, the Dauphin. The *Florus* with Latin notes is her's; and her translations of *Terence* and *Homer* insure her immortal honour. The only defect

* This same story of Celemnus I apprehend to be a fable of Countess Ferrand's own invention; for neither the name, nor the metamorphose, are taken notice of among Ovid's *Memorabilia*. *Translator*.

† Those editions of the Classics, I suppose, that are noted *In usum Delphini*. *Id.*

she had, was the too enthusiastic admiration she professed for the authors she translated. La Motte attacked her with wit, and she answered him with erudition only. She died at the Louvre, in 1720.

FLECHIER (Ésprit), of the province of Avignon, born in 1632. He was Bishop of Lavaur, and afterwards of Nismes; a poet both in French and Latin, a historian, and a preacher; but most remarkable for his elegant funeral orations. His *History of Theodosius* was written for the instruction of Monseigneur *. The Duke of Montausier had engaged persons of the greatest erudition in France to join their endeavours towards perfecting his education. Flechier died in 1710.

FLEURY (Claudius), born in 1640, was sub-preceptor to the Duke of Burgundy, and Confessor to Lewis XV. his son. He lived at Court in solitude and hard study. His *History of the Church* is the best work of the kind that was ever written; and the preliminary discourses are still more valuable than the history. These are philosophic writings, but the history is not of that stamp. He died in 1723.

LA FONTAINE (John), born at Château-Thierry, in 1612; the most artless of men, but admirable in his kind, although negligent and unequal. He was the only distinguished man of his time who never shared the bounty of Louis XIV. though he had a double claim to it, both on account of his genius and his poverty. In the greatest part of his Fables he is infinitely superior to all who ever wrote before, or since, his time, in any language whatsoever. In the Tales which he has imitated from Ariosto, he has not preserved all his elegance or his purity; nor is he by any means so good a painter; and this is what Boileau did not perceive in his dissertation upon Joconde, because Despréaux did not well understand Italian. But in his stories drawn from Boccace, La Fontaine is much his superior, having more wit, elegance, and art. Boccace has no other merit but his simplicity, his perspicuity, and the correctness of his

* The Dauphin.

language.

language. He has perfected the Italian, and La Fontaine has often corrupted the French. He died in 1695. Pupils, or at least their preceptors, should be warned to avoid confounding his natural beauties with his familiar, his low, his negligent, or his trivial manner of writing; faults into which he too often sinks. He begins with saying to the Dauphin, in his prologue;

Et si de t'agr er je n'emporte le prix,
J'aurais du moins l'honneur de l'avoir entrepris.

If striving to please you, I meet with contempt,
Yet surely there's honour in making th' attempt.

Now I cannot conceive what honour there is in not being able to please. The thought is as false, as the expression is faulty.

Vous chantiez, j'en suis bien aise,
Eh bien, dansez maintenant.

You've sung, and I am pleased with it,
And now you may go dance.

How could a pismire apply that common proverb to a grasshopper!

Si j'apprenais l'Hebreu, les sciences, l'histoire,
Tout cela c'est la mer   boire.

To learn Hebrew, the sciences, history! as soon
I might think I could sup up the sea with a spoon.

We must confess that Ph drus wrote with a purity that had nothing of this vulgar stile in it.

Le gibier du lion ce ne sont point moineaux,
Mais beaux et bons sangliers, daims et cerfs bons et beaux.
Un jour sur ses hauts pieds alloit je ne fais o .
Le h ron au long bec emmanch  d'un long cou;
Et le renard, qui a cent tours dans son sac,
Et le chat, qui n'en a qu'un dans son bissac.

The lion with sparrows ne'er satiates his maw,
 But feasts on what ven'son falls under his paw.
 One day the hern stalking forth, with a long beak,
 Which like a knife's haft is joined to a long neck;
 And sly Reynard that has many tricks in his sack,
 And the cat that has only one shift to her back*.

We should distinguish these negligences, these puerilities, which abound in the above extracts, from the great beauties of this charming author, which still exceed in a far greater number. What must be the natural powers of natural verse, when from this sole charm La Fontaine, with such imperfections, has attained to a fame so universal, and so merited, without ever having invented any thing! But then what applause should be given to the Eastern writers, who were the original inventors of those entertaining fables, which are read with pleasure throughout this habitable globe †!

FONTENELLE (Bernard Bouvier de), born at Rouën, in 1658. He may be considered as the most universal genius that the Age of Louis XIV. has produced. He may be compared to those lands which are so happily situated as to be able to produce all kinds of fruits. He was scarcely twenty years old, when he wrote the greatest part of the tragic Opera of *Bellerophon*, and afterwards composed the Opera of *Tbetis and Peleus*, in which he emulated Quinault, and which met with great success. That of *Aneas and Lavinia* was not so well received. He once tried his powers in Tragedy, and assisted Mademoiselle Bernard in some of her pieces. He wrote two himself, one of which was performed in 1680, but he never printed it. He was a long time reproached

* There is no comprehending a partial quotation, and the reader cannot expect a translation to be more intelligible than its original. But the truth is, that these lines are unconnected, and only selected from different pieces of *La Fontaine*, as examples of the fault Voltaire would reprehend. The first couplet is in Fable 128; and the last is altered from two lines in Fable 182, where the fox says,

J'ai cent ruses au sac;

and the cat replies,

Je n'ai qu'un tour dans mon bissac. Translator.

† The Arabian Nights, Persian Tales, &c.

with

With this neglect, but unjustly; for he had the good sense to discover, that however extensive his genius might be, he possessed not the talent for Tragedy by which Peter Corneille, his uncle, was distinguished. In 1686 he wrote the allegory of *Mero and Enegu*, by which he meant Rome and Geneva. This pleasantry, too well known, joined to the *History of the Oracles*, raised a persecution against him. He afterwards sustained another, though not so dangerous, as it was only a literary one, for having declared, that, in many points, the Moderns excelled the Ancients. Racine and Boileau, who, though they had an interest in Fontenelle's assertion, affected to despise it, excluded him from the Academy for a long time. They wrote epigrams against him, which he replied to in the same way, and they continued ever after his enemies. He wrote many light pieces, in which, however, are discernible that depth and acuteness which discover a man to be superior to his writings. In his verses, and his *Dialogues of the Dead*, the spirit of Voiture is discernible, but more extensive and philosophic. His *Plurality of Worlds* was a singular work, in its kind; and he had the wit to render the *Oracles of Vandalia* an agreeable entertainment; The delicate subjects touched upon in this book, raised him up some violent enemies, whose malice, however, he had the good fortune to escape. He found how dangerous it is to be in the right, in matters where men in power are in the wrong. He turned his studies toward Geometry and Natural Philosophy, with the same ease that he had cultivated the Belles-Lettres; and being chosen perpetual Secretary to the Academy of Sciences, he acted above forty years in this employ, with universal applause. His *History of the Academy* often threw a striking light upon the most obscure memoirs. He was the first who introduced elegance into the sciences; and if sometimes he happened to ornament them too much, it was because his stile resembled those luxuriant harvests, where flowers spring naturally amidst the corn †. His *History of the Academy of Sciences* would

* This simile contains a most beautiful sample of poetical wit. *Transl.*

have proved as useful as it is well written, if it had been employed in giving an account of the truths discovered; but it explains the opinions that were combated against each other, the greatest part of which has been long since refuted. The eulogiums he spoke upon the Academicians who died, possess the singular merit of rendering the sciences themselves more respectable, and their author also. In vain did the Abbé Des Fontaines, and others of the same class; attempt to obscure his fame. It is the common fate of great men to have despicable enemies. If he published, late in life, some indifferent Comedies, and a defence of the Vortices of Des Cartes, one may pardon the first on account of his old age, and excuse the latter from the consideration of the prejudices of his youth, when such opinions had taken possession of his mind, in common with all the philosophers of Europe. In fine, he was regarded as the first of men, for the uncommon art of diffusing a lustre and graces over the abstract sciences; and he had great merit also, in all the other kinds of literature he engaged in. All these talents were sustained by a perfect knowledge in languages and history, and he was certainly superior to all the geniuses of his time who possessed not the merit of invention. His *History of the Oracles*, which is only an abridgement, executed with discretion and moderation, of the great history of Vandalia, drew upon him enemies more violent than Racine or Boileau. Some Jesuits, who had compiled the lives of the Saints, and who had the true spirit of compilers, wrote in their manner against the rational opinions of Vandalia and Fontenelle. The philosopher of Paris made no reply; but his friend, the learned Basnage, a philosopher of Holland, answered them, and the Compiler's nonsense was no longer read. Many years after this, the Jesuit Tellier, Confessor of Louis XIV. that unhappy author of all those disputes which produced so much evil and so much ridicule in France, impeached Fontenelle to Louis XIV. as an Atheist, and produced the allegory of *Mero and Eneïd*, before mentioned. Marc-René de Paulmi, Marquis of Argenfon, then Lieutenant of the Police, and
since

since Keeper of the Seals, quashed the prosecution that was stirred up against him; a favour which the philosopher has fully acknowledged, in the eulogium he pronounced upon him in the Academy of Sciences. This anecdote is more curious than all that has been said by the Abbé Trublet about Fontenelle. He died on the 29th of January 1757, at the age of near a hundred.

FORBIN (Claudius, Chevalier de), a Commodore in France, and Great Admiral to the King of Siam. He has left some curious memoirs, which have been contracted, and give us an opportunity of judging between him and Du Gué-Trouin.

LA FOSSE (Antony), born in 1658. *Manlius* is his best dramatic piece. He died in 1708.

FRAGUIER (Claudius), born at Paris in 1666. A man versed in literature, and of a good taste. He has put the Platonic philosophy into tolerable Latin verse. He had better have tried to make good French verse*. There are some excellent dissertations of his in the useful collection of the Academy of Belles-Lettres. He died in 1728.

FURETIERE (Antony), born in 1620, famous for his *Dictionary*, and his quarrels. He died in 1688.

GACON (Francis), born at Lyons in 1667, inserted by Father Nicéron in the catalogue of illustrious men, though he had no other title to fame than his having written some wretched satires. He was principal compiler of the collection of those gross jests intitled, *Brévets de la Calote* †. Such poor conceits took their rise in some low society, who stiled themselves *Le Regiment des Fous et de la Calote*. They may be adapted to the taste of the vulgar, but persons of the least refinement must look upon them with contempt, as well as their authors,

* We may again perceive the strong prepossession our author had conceived for his native tongue. See the note upon the preceding article of CHARPENTIER. After such an instance of the force of prejudice, I do not think that he had a right to ridicule the superstitions of priests. *Translator.*

† This title cannot be translated into intelligible English, as both the nouns are equivocal. *Ibid.*

who can never be quoted, except to render their examples odious. Gacqn never wrote any thing but his satires abovementioned, in very bad verse, against the best authors of his time. Those who have done the same in as bad prose, are even more despised than he. Such writers are not mentioned here, except to inspire the like disgust against those who should imitate them. He died in 1725.

GALANT (Antony), born in Picardy in 1646. He learned at Constantinople the oriental languages, and translated a part of the Arabian Tales that are known under the title of *A Thousand and One Nights*, and among which he has inserted some pieces of his own. This is one of the books most universally known in Europe, as being equally amusing to all nations. He died in 1715.

Abbé GALLOIS (John), born at Paris in 1632. He was a man of general knowledge, and the first who undertook the *Journal des Savans*, in concert with the Counsellor-Clerk Sallo, who had conceived the original idea of this work. He afterwards taught the minister Colbert a little Latin, who, notwithstanding his public occupations, endeavoured to spare time to learn that language. He chiefly took his lessons in his coach, travelling from Versailles to Paris. This was thought, and perhaps with reason, to have been with a view of his becoming Chancellor. It may here be observed, that the two persons in France who were the greatest patrons of letters, understood not a word of Latin; Louis XIV. and Monsieur Colbert. It is reported that the Abbé Gallois used to say, "Mr. Colbert would sometimes behave in a familiar manner with me, but I kept him at a distance by my own respect." He died in 1707.

GASSENDI (Peter), born in Provence in 1592. He was the reviver of part of Epicurus's Physicks. He thought that atoms and a vacuum were unavoidably necessary. Newton and others have since demonstrated what Gassendi had affirmed. He had less fame than Descartes, because he was more rational, and formed no system; but he had the same fate with Des-

Cartes, in being accused of Atheism. Some people concluded, that whoever admitted a vacuum, like Epicurus, denied a God, as well as he. After this manner calumniators usually argue. Gassendi, in Provence, where they were not jealous of him, was called the *holy priest*, while the envious in Paris called him *the Atheist*. It is true, indeed, that he was a sceptic, and that philosophy had taught him to doubt of every thing, except the existence of a Supreme Being. He had advanced, a long time before Locke, in a famous letter of his to Descartes, that we are totally ignorant about the nature of the soul, and that God might superadd the faculty of thinking to matter, another essence equally unknown, and continue it to all eternity. He died in 1656.

GEDOUIN, Canon of the Holy Chapel in Paris, was the author of an excellent translation of Quintilian, and of Pausanias. He had been entered in the Jesuits-College at the age of fifteen, but quitted it when he arrived to years of discretion. He was so passionate an admirer of the good authors of antiquity, that he would have us forgive them their religion, on account of their writings and their mythology. He discovered in their fables a natural philosophy that was admirable, and most striking emblems of the operations of the Divinity. He thought that the genius of all modern nations was become contracted, and that the higher poetry and the nobler eloquence had disappeared in the world with the mythology of the Greeks. The poem of Milton appeared to him to be a barbarous composition, dictated by a gloomy and disgusting spirit of fanaticism, in which the Devil keeps constantly howling at the Messiah. He wrote four dissertations upon this subject, that are very curious, which it has been said will soon be published. He died in 1744. A story has been told, in some dictionaries, that Ninon de l'Enclos had granted him a favour, at the age of fourscore. In such a case, methinks, it might more justly be said, that he had granted one to her. But the story is too ridiculous to insist upon. It was the Abbé Chateaufauf with whom Ninon

made an assignation, on the day that she was exactly threescore.

LE GENDRE (Lewis), born at Rouen in 1655, has written *A History of France*. To have executed such a work with approbation, it had been necessary for him to have had the pen and the liberty of the President De Thou; and even then it would have been very difficult to render the first three centuries interesting. He died in 1733.

GENEST (Charles-Claudius), born in 1635, Almoner to the Duchess of Orleans, was both a philosopher and a poet. His tragedy of *Penelope* is still continued on the stage, but it is the only Play of his that has been preserved. This piece may be ranked with a heap of others that are written in a loose and prosaic stile, and which the situations alone carry through the representation. His laborious work *Of the Philosophy of Des Cartes*, written in rhyme rather than in verse, shews his patience more than his genius; for he had nothing in common with Lucretius, but to versify a philosophy erroneous in every article. He was one of those who partook of the liberality of Louis XIV. He died in 1719.

Abbé GIRARD,³ of the Academy. His *Synonymous Dictionary* is very useful; it will subsist as long as our language, and help that to subsist also. He died very old, in 1748.

GODEAU (Antony), was one of those that assisted towards the establishment of the French Academy. A poet, orator, and historian. Every one knows that for the sake of *un jeu de mots*, Cardinal Richelieu gave him the bishoprick of Grasse*, for putting the *Bénédicté* into verse. His *Ecclesiastical History* in prose was more esteemed than his poem on the *Calendars of the Church*. He deceived himself in imagining he was able to equal the *Fasts* of Ovid; Neither his subject nor his genius

* I never heard the story, but suppose that M. Godeau was a fat man, and so he gave him a fat bishoprick, as the name of it signifies. A poor conceit! *Translator.*

were capable of it. It is a great mistake to think that Christian stories can admit of poetry, as well as those of the Pagans, whose mythology, as charming as false, animates all nature. He died in 1672.

GODEFROY (Theodore), son to Denis Godefroy, a Parisian, born at Geneva in 1580. He was a learned man, and historiographer of France under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. He was particularly exact about titles and ceremonies. He died in 1649. His father Denis has rendered his name immortal by his immense labour in the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

GODEFROY (Denis), son to the former, was born at Paris in 1615. He was historiographer of France, as well as his father, and died in 1681. All this family have been illustrious in literature.

GOMBAULD (John Ogier de), though born under Charles IX. lived a long time under Louis XIV. and wrote several good epigrams, which are still remembered and repeated. He died in 1666.

GOMBERVILLE (Martin), born at Paris in 1600, one of the first Academicians. He wrote some voluminous romances before the æra of good taste, and his fame consequently did not long outlive him. He died in 1674.

GONDI (John-Francis), Cardinal de Retz, born in 1613, who lived a Cataline in his youth, and an Atticus in his latter years. Many passages in his memoirs are worthy of Sallust; but the whole is not equal. He died in 1679.

GOURVILLE, valet-de-chambre to the Duke of Rochefoucault, became afterwards his friend, as well as that of the Great Condé. He was at the same time hung in effigy at Paris, and Envoy from the King in Germany. He was afterwards designed to succeed the great Colbert in the ministry. We have the memoirs of his life written by himself with great naïveté, and in which he speaks of his birth and fortune with perfect indifference. There are some true and curious anecdotes given in this work.

LE GRAND (Joachim), born in Normandy in 1653, a pupil to Father LeCointe. He was the most profoundly versed

versed in history, of any man of his time. He died in 1732.

GRECOUR, Canon of Tours. His poem of *Pbiletanus* had prodigious success. The merit of these kind of works lies chiefly in the lucky choice of the subject, and in the malignity of the human heart. However, there are some good lines in this piece. The beginning of it is happy enough; but the rest of it falls off. The Devil does not speak there so pleasantly as the author designed him to do; the stile is low, uniform, without dialogue, without grace, without art, without purity of diction, and without imagination in the expression. In short, it is only a satirical history of the *Bull Unigenitus* in doggerel verse, in which there are some lines that are entertaining enough.

GUERET (Gabriel); born at Paris in 1641, known in his time by his *Parnassus Reformed*, and by his *War of the Authors*. He had some taste; but his discourse, *Whether the Empire of Eloquence be not greater than that of Love*, did not prove him to possess much of the former. He wrote the *Journal du Palais* conjointly with Blondeau. This *Journal du Palais* is a collection of the arrêts, sentences, or decrees, of the Parliaments of France; judgments or determinations often different in similar cases. Nothing can shew how much the law wants reformation, as the necessity the Judges are reduced to of referring to former decisions. He died in 1688.

DU GUET (James Joseph), born in Fores in 1649, one of the best writers among the Jansenists. His book on *the Education of a King*, was not written for the King of Sardinia, as has been said, and was finished by another hand. The stile of Du Guet is formed upon that of the good writers of Port-Royal. He might, as well as they, have rendered great service to letters; and three volumes upon twenty-five chapters of Isaiah, sufficiently prove that he was no miser either of his time or pen. He died in 1733.

DU GUE-TROUIN, from a captain of a merchant-ship, became lieutenant-general of the naval forces of France. He

He was a very great man in his profession, and has left some memoirs behind him, written in the stile of a soldier, and proper to excite emulation among his countrymen.

Du HALDE, a Jesuit; who, though he had never stirred out of Paris, and never saw a Chinese, has given, in an extract taken from the Memoirs of the Missionaries, the most ample and the best description of the Empire of China that is extant. He died in 1743.

The insatiable curiosity that we have for an intimate knowledge of the religion, the laws, and the manners of the Chinese, is not yet satisfied. A citizen of Middleburgh, named *Hudde*, who was very rich, prompted merely by this curiosity, took a voyage to China, about the year 1700. He spent great part of his fortune in informing himself of every thing. He made himself so perfect a master of the language, that he passed for one of their own natives. Happily for him, the form and cast of his features did not betray him. In short, he contrived to arrive at the rank of a Mandarin, and travelled through all the provinces in this quality, and then returned to Europe with a collection of thirty years observations, which were swallowed up in a shipwreck; and this was, perhaps, the greatest loss that the Republic of Letters could well have sustained.

Du HAMEL (John-Baptist), of Normandy, was born in 1624. He was Secretary of the Academy of Sciences. Though a philosopher, he was also a theologian. Philosophy being perfected since his time, has destroyed his writings; but his name has still survived. He died in 1706.

The Count d' HAMILTON (Antony), born at Caën. We have some pretty pieces of poetry of his; and he is the first person who wrote romances in a pleasing stile, without sinking into the burlesque of Scarron. His *Memoirs of the Count de Grammont* is, of all the books extant, that wherein the most trivial matters are set off in a stile the most gay, the most lively, and the most agreeable. It is the model of a sprightly conversation, more than the pattern of a book. His hero has hardly any

any other part in these memoirs, than that of cheating his friends at play, being robbed by his valet-de-chambre, or saying some pretended *bons mots* upon the adventures of others.

HARDQUIN (John), a Jesuit, profound in history, but chimerical in his opinions. "One should ask," says Montagne, "not who is the *most* knowing, but who is the *best* knowing." Hardouin carried his whimsies so far, as to pretend that the *Eneid* and the *Odes* of Horace were written by some Monks of the thirteenth century. He imagined, that by *Aeneas* was meant *Jesus Christ*; and that *Lalage*, the Mistress of Horace, was the Christian religion*.

The same kind of discernment which made Father Hardouin discover the Messiah in the *Aeneid*, enabled him to detect Atheism in the Fathers Thomassin, Quesnel, and Malebranche; in Arnold, in Nicola, and Pascal. His folly blunted the sting of his rage; but all those who raise the clamour of Atheism against men who presume to make use of their reason, are not deemed fools, and are therefore often dangerous. We have sometimes seen men abusing the office of their ministry, in employing those arms, against which there is no shield, to destroy without redemption persons esteemed by Princes, not sufficiently instructed we are to suppose.

HECQUET, a Physician, in 1722, published the rational system of *Trituration*; an ingenious hypothesis, which, however, does not explain how the digestion is performed in the stomach. Other physicians have added the gastric juices to it, and the heat of the viscera. But none of them have been able to discover the real secret of Nature, which conceals itself throughout all its operations.

HELVETIUS, a famous Physician, who has written extremely well upon the animal œconomy, and on the

* How came this mystic Theologist to fix upon Lalagé, as the type of the Christian Church, in preference to Pyrrha, Lydia, Gratidia, Tyndaris, Glycera, Chloë, Barina, &c.? That infidel Horace had Mistresses enough for all the religions that Alexander Ross has enumerated. *Translator.*

fever. He died about the year 1750. He was the father of a true philosopher, who resigned his post of Farmer-General to be at leisure to cultivate literature, and who shared the common fate of many philosophers; that of being persecuted for a book, and for his virtue*.

HENAULT, known by the sonnet of *The Abortive*, as well as by other ingenious pieces; and who would have obtained great reputation, if the first three Cantos of his translation of *Lucretius*, which were lost, had been preserved, and had been written as well as what remains of it. He died in 1682.

Posterity should be cautioned not to confound this man with a person of the same name, but of superior merit, to whom we are indebted for the most concise and the best history of France we have; and perhaps his is the only manner in which all large histories should be written. For the multiplicity of facts, and of writings, are become so numerous, that we must be obliged soon to reduce them to extracts and to dictionaries. But it will be difficult to imitate the author of *The Chronological Abridgment*, and to investigate so many things, in appearing only to skim them over.

HENAULT, President of the Inquests of the Parliament, Superintendent of the Queen's Household, and a Member of the French Academy, was born at Paris, about the year 1686. We have already spoken of his useful book of the abridgement of the history of France. The laborious researches which such a work must have engaged him in, did not prevent his sacrificing to the Graces; and he was one of the few men of learning who joined to the pains of study the talents requisite for social life, which are not to be acquired. He was, in history, what Fontenelle was in philosophy; he rendered it familiar. We have, therefore, rendered to him, as well as to Fontenelle, justice during his life †.

HERBELOT (Bartholomew), born at Paris, in 1625; the first among the French who was skilled in the oriental

* He died in 1771, in the 57th year of his age. *Translator.*

† M. Voltaire seems to have forgot himself here, for he mentions Fontenelle's death, at the end of his encomium: Mort en 1757. *Ibid.*

languages and histories. He was taken little notice of, at first, in his own country; but being received by the Great Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II. with a distinction that taught France to know his merit, he was invited back, and encouraged by Colbert, who was indeed an universal patron. His *Oriental Library* is a work as curious as profound. He died in 1695.

HERMANT (Godfrey), born at Beauvois, in 1617. He wrote nothing but polemical works, which died away along with the dispute. He died in 1690.

HERMANT (John), author of *The History of the Councils*, of *The Religious Orders*, and of *The Heresies of the Church*. This last, the History of Heresies, is not so well written as that of Mr. Pluquet.

LA HIRE (Philip), born at Paris, in 1640, the son of a good painter. He was a great Mathematician, and contributed much to the famous Meridian of France. He died in 1718.

L'HOSPITAL (Francis Marquis de) born in 1662: He was the first who wrote in France on the calculations invented by Newton, which he stiled *Infinitesimals*, the *infinite series*. This was at that time a prodigy. He died in 1704.

D'HOSIER (Peter), born at Marseilles, in 1592, the son of a Lawyer. He was the first who unravelled genealogies, and reduced them to a science. Louis XIII. made him Gentleman-Servant, Maître d'Hôtel, and Gentleman in Ordinary of his Bedchamber. Louis XIV. gave him a commission of Counsellor of State. In truth, great men have been often less rewarded. Their labours were not so necessary to human vanity. He died in 1660.

DES HOULIERES (Antoinette de la Garde) was, of all the women in France who addicted themselves to poetry, the one who succeeded the best, if we may judge by the superior number of her verses which has been preserved. It is a pity that she was author of the ill-natured sonnet against the admirable *Phœdra* of Racine. This piece was well received by the public, only because it was satirical. Is it not enough for women to be jealous
in

in love? Must they be so, likewise, in literature? An envious female resembles Medusa *, a beautiful woman turned to a monster. She died in 1694.

HUET (Peter-Daniel), born at Caën, in 1630. A man of universal knowledge, and who preserved the same ardour for study to the age of ninety-one. He was first invited to Stockholm by Christina, Queen of Sweden, and was afterwards selected among those illustrious men to whom the education of the Dauphin was intrusted. Never had Prince such excellent preceptors. Huet became a Priest at forty years of age, and was promoted to the Bishopric of Avranches; which he afterwards resigned, that he might retire from the world, and deliver himself up wholly to his studies in his retreat.

Of all his works, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients*, and *The Origin of Romances*, are most esteemed. His *Treatise on the Weakness of the human Soul*, made a great noise, and seemed to contradict his *Evangelical Demonstration*. He died in 1721.

JACQUELOT (Isaac), born in Champagne, in 1647, a Calvinist, Minister at the Hague, and afterwards at Berlin. He wrote some works upon religion. He died in 1708.

JOLI (Guy), Counsellor to the Châtelet, and Secretary to Cardinal de Retz. He has left us his *Memoirs*, which are, compared with those of the Cardinal, what the Man is to the Master. But he had some curious particularities in his character.

JOUVENCY (Joseph), a Jesuit, born at Paris, in 1643. He was one who had the obscure merit of being able to write in Latin as well as it is possible to do in modern times. His book intitled *De Ratione Discendi et Docendi, Of the Method of Learning and Teaching*, is one of the best that we have of this kind, since Quintilian, and the least known. He published at Rome, in 1710, a part of the history of his own Order. He wrote like a Jesuit, and like a man who had been at Rome.

* M. Voltaire adds Scylla to the comparison, but one image is enough for a simile. *Translator.*

The Parliament of Paris, which thought quite differently both of Rome and of the Jesuits, condemned his book, in which Father Guignard was justified, who had been condemned to be hanged by this Parliament, for the assassination attempted on the person of Henry IV. by the novice Châtel.

It is very true that Guignard was not an accomplice; and that his sentence was extended to the rigour of the law; but it is not less true, that this rigour was necessary in those unhappy times, when one part of Europe, blinded by a horrid fanaticism, considered it as a pious act to poison the best of kings and the best of men. He died in 1716.

LABÉE (Philip), born at Bourges, in 1607. A Jesuit. He has rendered great services to history. He left behind him seventy-six works*. He died in 1667.

LA LABOUREUR (John), born at Montmorenci, in 1623. He was Gentleman-Servant to Louis XIV. and afterwards his Almoner. His account of the journey he took to Poland, with the Marchioness de Guébriant, the only woman who had ever bore the title, or performed the functions, of Ambassador-Plenipotentiary, is very curious. The historical commentaries with which he has enriched the *Memoirs of Castelnaud*, have thrown great light on the history of France.

The bad poem of *Charlemagne* was not his, but his brother's. He died in 1675.

LAINÉ, or LAINEZ (Alexander), born in Hainault; in 1650. A singular poet, from whose works a selection has been made of some good verses. A certain person who has given himself the trouble of erecting, at a vast expence, a Parnassus made of brass, covered with figures in relief of all the poets and musicians he had ever heard of, has placed this Lainé in the most illustrious class.

* The following name should have been given him as a *cognomen*, *Le Laboureur*. *Translator*.

The only galant lines that we have of his, are those he addressed to Madame de Martel:

Le tendre Apelle un jour dans ces jeux si vantés
 Qu' Athènes sur ses bords consacrait à Neptune,
 Vit au fortir de l'onde éclater cent beautés ;
 Et prenant un trait de chacune,
 Il fit de la Vénus le portrait immortel.
 Hélas ! s'il avait vû l'adorable Martel,
 Il n'en aurait employé qu'une.

On the Athenian shore Apelles stood,
 To mark the beauties rising from the flood;
 From each a grace or feature slyly stole,
 To paint a perfect Venus from the whole.
 But had Martel been there, his pains were less,
 Her form alone might serve him to express
 Those charms which in a hundred fair he found,
 To draw that portrait erst so much renown'd*.

One cannot be certain; whether these lines may not be only a paraphrase on this pretty distich of Ariosto :

Non avea da torre altra ; che costei
 Che tute le bellezze erano in Lei.

He could no other chuse ; in her alone,
 The beauties of her sex united shone.

He died in the year 1710.

LAINET, or LENET (Peter), Counsellor of State, a native of Dijon, and attached to the Great Condé, has left us some memoirs on the Civil Wars. All the memoirs of that time are cleared up and justified by one another. They place the truth of that history in open view. Those of Lainet have one very singular anecdote in them.

A Lady of quality of Franche-Comté †, being eight months gone with child, when her husband had been above a year absent, fearing he should kill her, applied to Laine without knowing him. He consulted the Spanish Ambassador, and they both agreed that there was no way

* The famous picture called the *Anadyomene* of Venus rising from the sea. *Translator.*

† The province of Burgundy. *Ibid.*

but to clap the husband up into the Bastille, until the wife was fairly brought-to-bed. They then made application to the Queen; and the King, in a good-humour, drew up and signed the *Lettre de Cachet* himself. Having thus saved the life of the woman and the child, he afterwards made an apology to the husband, and made him a present at the same time.

LAMBERT (Anna-Theresa of Marguenat de Courcelles, Marchioness of), born in 1647. She was a woman of a great share of wit, and has left behind her some moral writings, in an agreeable style. Her *Treatise on Friendship* shews that she herself deserved friends.

The number of illustrious women who ornamented this charming æra, is one great proof of the progress of the human understanding.

Le donne son venute in eccellenza
Di ciascon' arte ove hanno posto cura. Ariosto.

The women then were famed for eminence
In all those studies they had made their care.

She died at Paris, in 1733.

LAMI (Bernard), born at Mans, in 1640. He was of the Oratory, and learned in more sciences than one. He composed his *Elements of Mathematics*, in a journey he made on foot from Grenoble to Paris. He died in 1715.

LANCELOT (Claudius), born at Paris, in 1615. He had a share in some useful works that the *Solitaires** of Port-Royal composed for the education of youth. He died in 1695.

DE LARKEY (Isaac), born in Normandy, in 1638. His *History of England* was in esteem before Rapin de Thoiras published one; but his *History of Louis XIV.* never was in any repute. He died at Berlin, in 1719.

LAUNAI (Francis), born at Angers, in 1612. A Civilian, and a man of letters. He was the first who taught the French law in Paris. He died in 1693.

* A denomination of Nuns of St. Peter of Alcantara. We are to suppose there was a religious sisterhood of the same name, instituted at Port-Royal, for the education of youth. Translator.

lian,

LAUNOY (John), born in Normandy, in 1603. He was a Doctor of Divinity; a learned, a laborious, and a bold critic. He refuted a great many vulgar errors, and especially about the Saints, whose existence he denied*. It is reported that a Curate of St. Eustachius said once, "I always pay him the most profound respect, lest he should take my St. Eustachius from me." He died in 1678.

LAURIERE (Eusebius), born at Paris, in 1659. An advocate. No man ever dived deeper into the science and origin of the Laws. It was he that projected the plan of making a collection of all the Ordonnances, Judgments, or Decrees; which was an immense work, and signalized the reign of Louis XIV. It is a monument of the inconstancy of human affairs. A history of ordonnances is but a history of vicissitudes. He died in 1728.

LE CLERC (John), born at Geneva, in 1657, but originally of Beauvois. He was not the only learned man of his family, but he was the most so. His *Universal Library*, in which he imitated the *Republic of Letters* of Bayle, is his best work. His greatest merit is to have there approached to Bayle, with whom he often had disputes. He was a more voluminous author than that great man; but he was not, like him, master of the art of instructing and entertaining at the same time, which is a talent superior to science. He died at Amsterdam in 1736.

LEMERY (Nicholas), born at Rouen, in 1645, was the first of our rational chymists, and the first who published an *Universal Dispensary*. He died in 1715.

LENFANT (James), born in Beauffe, in 1661. A Calvinist divine at Berlin. He contributed more than any other writer, to extend the graces and the force of the French language to the very extremities of Germany. His *History of the Council of Constance*, well-drawn up and well-written, will remain to the latest posterity, a wit-

* I suppose it must be their *post-mortem* existence, in the quality of Intercessors, that is here meant. *Translator.*

ness both of the good and evil that may result from these great assemblies; and that even from the bosom of passions, of self-interest, and of cruelty itself, good laws may proceed. He died in 1692.

DES LIONS (John), born at Pontoise, in 1615. He was a Doctor of the Sorbonne, a singular character, and author of many polemical works. He attempted to prove that the celebration of the birth-days of Kings was a profanation, and that the world would soon be at an end. He died in 1700.

DE L'ISLE (William), born at Paris, in 1675. He reformed Geography, which till then had been false and imperfect. He changed the whole position of our hemisphere in longitude. He taught Louis XV. geography, and never had a better scholar. This Monarch, after the death of his master, composed a treatise on the course of the rivers. William de L'Isle was the first who obtained the title of the King's Geographer. He died in 1726.

LE LONG (James), born at Paris, in 1655, of the Oratory. His *Historical Library of France* is in great request, and extremely useful; though it has some faults. He died in 1721.

LONGPIERRE (Hilary-Bernard Baron of) born in Burgundy, in 1658. He was master of all the beauties of the Greek language, which was a very rare merit in those times. He made some translations in verse of *Anacreon*, *Sappho*, *Bion*, and *Moschus*. His Tragedy of *Medea*, although unequal, and too much loaded with declamation, is, however, much superior to that of Peter Corneille.—But then the *Medea* of Corneille was not among his best performances.

Longpierre wrote several other Tragedies after the manner of the Greek poets, and has imitated them in not complicating any love-distresses with his subjects of severity and terror; but then he has also imitated them in their prolixity, their common-place declamation, and in the barrenness of the plot and action, and by no means equals the beauty of their elocution, which is the greatest merit of a poet. He also composed some other

other Tragedies in the Grecian taste; but he brought only *Medea* and *Electra* on the stage. He died in 1727.

LONGUERUE (Lou's du Four de), born at Charleville, in 1652. Abbé of Jard. He was skilled not only in the learned languages, but in all those spoken in Europe. To pick up a smattering of many languages, may be done with a little pains in a few years; but to speak one's native tongue with purity and eloquence, is the labour of a life. He was master of universal history; and it is pretended that he composed, by the strength of memory alone, the historical and geographical description of France ancient and modern. He died about the year 1724.

LONGUEVAL (James), born in 1681. A Jesuit. He compiled eight volumes of the History of the Gallican Church, which was continued by Father Fontenay. He died in 1735.

LOUBERE (Simon de la), born at Toulouse, in 1642, and sent to Siam in 1677. He wrote memoirs of that country, which are much preferable to his odes and sonnets. He died in 1729.

MABILLON (John), born in Champagne, in 1632. A Benedictin. It was he who having the charge of shewing the treasure of St. Denis, demanded to be dismissed from that employ, "Because he did not think it was proper to mix a fable with truth." He has made profound researches in literature. Colbert employed him to discuss the antient titles. He died in 1707.

MAIGNAN (Emanuel), born at Toulouse, in 1601. A Minim*. He was one of those who taught themselves the Mathematics without a master. He was a Professor of that science at Rome, where there has ever since been a French Minim an established Professor. He died at Toulouse, in 1677.

MAILLET, Consul at Grand Cairo. He wrote some instructive letters about Egypt, and some manuscript works which shew him to be a bold philosopher.

MAIMBOURG (Louis), a Jesuit, born in 1610. There still remain some of his histories, which we cannot read

* A particular Order of Friars. *Translator.*

without pleasure. He had, at first, too much vogue, and has been too much neglected since. A singular thing happened to him : He was obliged to quit the Society of Jesuits, on account of his having written in favour of the French Clergy. He died at St. Victor's, in 1686.

MAINARD (Francis), President of Aurillac, was born at Toulouse, in 1634. He may be reckoned among those who have done honour to the Age of Louis XIV. He has left us a considerable number of happy verses written with purity. He was one of those authors who complained the loudest of the poor pittance which is too generally the portion of talents. He was ignorant that the success of a good work is the only reward that is worthy the consideration of an artist ; that if Kings and Ministers would do themselves honour by recompensing a merit of this kind, there is still more honour in the client to wait for these favours, without demanding them ; and that if an eminent author should have any anxiety about fortune, he ought to depend solely on himself.

Nothing is better known than his beautiful sonnet to Cardinal Richelieu, and that uncouth answer of the Minister, that cruel word, *Nothing*. The President Mainard, having afterwards retired to Aurillac, wrote these verses to him, which deserve to be remembered as much as his sonnet.

Par votre humeur le monde est gouverné,
 Vos volontés font le calme et l'orage,
 Vous vous riez de me voir confiné
 Loin de la cour dans mon petit ménage :
 Mais, n'est ce rien que d'être tout à soi,
 De n'avoir point le fardeau d'un emploi,
 D'avoir dompté la crainte et l'espérance ?
 Ah ! si le Ciel, qui me traite si bien,
 Avait pitié de vous et de la France,
 Votre bonheur serait égal au mien.

To your caprice the passive world submits,
 You tempests raise, or make a calm, by fits ;
 Then smile to see me banished to this spot,
 And vainly think me wretched in my lot.

But is it nought our freedom to enjoy,
 Exempt from noise, from hurry, or employ ?
 From hopes and fears a riddance to obtain,
 And give up pleasure, to be free from pain ?
 On France and you should Heaven impartial shine,
 Your own condition then would equal mine.

After the death of the Cardinal, he said, in another verse, "The tyrant is dead, and yet I am not more happy." If the Cardinal had been liberal, the Minister would have been a deity to him. *Deus, Deus ille, Menalca!* But he was a tyrant, *because he gave him nothing.* This too much resembles beggars, who accost passengers with the title of *My Lord*, but send them to the Devil if they give no alms.

The verses of Mainard were certainly good; but he had done better to have passed his life without begging or grumbling. The epitaph he framed for himself, is in every one's memory.

Las d'espérer et de me plaindre
 Des muses, des grands, et du fort,
 C'est ici que j'attends la mort,
 Sans le désirer ni la craindre.

Wearied with hope, tired with complaining
 Of fate, the muse, or men in power,
 In this forlorn retreat remaining,
 Nor wish nor dread I my last hour.

The two last lines are only a translation of this old Latin verse:

Summum nec metuas diem, nec optes.

Nor wish nor fear the hour of death.

The greatest part of many fine moral verses are but translations. It is common enough not to desire death; and it is uncommon not to fear it; but it is truly great not even to think whether there are great people in the world or no.

MAINTENON (Frances d' Aubigné, Scarron, Marchioness of). She is an author, as well as Madame de

Sevigné, because they have published her letters after her death. Both these collections are written with a good share of spirit, but in a very different stile. The heart and the imagination dictated those of Madame de Sevigné; they have therefore more cheerfulness and freedom in them. Those of Madame de Maintenon are more constrained. It seems as if she had always foreseen that they would one day appear in print. Madame de Sevigné, in writing to her daughter, wrote only to her daughter.

There are anecdotes in both of them. One learns from those of Madame de Maintenon, that she had married Louis XIV. that she had *influenced* affairs of state, but did not *govern* them; that she did not *urge* the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, or its consequences, but that she did not in the least *oppose* them; that she took part with the Molinists, because Louis XIV. had done so, and that afterwards she attached herself intirely to that party; that Louis XIV. toward the latter part of his life carried *reliques* about him, with many other equally uninteresting particulars.

But the informations that may be gathered from this collection, are too dearly purchased at the expence of reading a heap of insignificant letters that are contained in it; a defect very common in such compilations. If nothing was published, but what was worthy of being read, we should have a hundred times fewer books than we have. She died at St. Cyr, in 1719.

A person, whose name is LA BAUMELLE, and who was a School-master at Geneva, has published some Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon stuffed with falsties.

MALEBRANCHE (Nicholas), born at Paris, in 1638, of the Oratory. He was a man of the profoundest meditation that ever wrote. Animated with that strong imagination which makes more disciples than the truth, he formed a party in his time. He had his *Malebranchists*. He most convincingly proved the errors of the senses and of the imagination; but when he attempted

tempted to investigate the nature of the soul, he sunk in that abyss, with the rest of such Metaphysical Philosophers. He was, like Descartes, a great man, from whom we can learn but little. He died in 1715*.

MALEZIEUX (Nicholas), born at Paris, in 1650. *The Elements of Geometry of the Duke of Burgundy*, were a collection of the lectures he gave that Prince. He obtained a reputation from his profound literature. The Dukes of Maine made his fortune. He died in 1727.

MALLEVILLE (Claudius de), one of the first Academicians. The single sonnet of *La Belle Maineuise*, or, *The fair early Riser*, rendered him famous in his days. The song is quite forgotten long since; but the Excellent in every kind was then as rare, as it is become common at present. He died in 1647.

DE MARCA (Peter), born in 1594. Being a widower, and having many children, he went into the Church, and was appointed to the Archbishopric of Paris. His book, *Of the Concord of the Empire and of the Priesthood*, is in esteem. He died in 1662.

DE MAROLLES (Michael), born in Touraine, in 1600, son to the famous Claudius Marolles, Captain of the Hundred-Swiss troop, distinguished by his duel at the head of the army of Henry IV. with Marivaux. This Michael, Abbé de Villeloin, wrote sixty-nine works; among which were a great many translations, that were very useful in their time. He died in 1681.

LA MARRE (Nicholas), born at Paris, in 1641. He was a Commissary of the Châtelet. He wrote a work which related to his own province, *A History of the Police*. It is of no use but to the Parisians, and better to consult than to read. He was rewarded with a stipend upon the profits of the Theatre where they never performed; and they might as well have given the Actors a pension on the *Round-House*.

DU MARSAIS. Nobody knew better than himself the Metaphysics of Grammar; and nobody ever more deeply

* He said, upon reading Berkley's book against the Existence of Matter, "Behold a Philosopher more extravagant than myself." *Tran.*

investigated the elements of languages. His book on *Tropes* is become *insensibly necessary**, and all that he has written upon the subject of Grammar deserves to be read. There are, in the great Dictionary called the *Encyclopedie*, many articles taken from him that are very useful.

He was one among the number of those obscure Philosophers which abounds in Paris, who are of sound discernment, and who live in a sort of society together, in a quiet and a literary intercourse, unknown to the Great, and dreaded by the smatterers of every kind who would impose themselves on the world for men of science or of letters. The number of these learned men is one of the consequences of the Age of Louis XIV. He died very old, in 1755.

MARSOLLIER (James), born at Paris, in 1657. He was a regular Canon of St. Geneviève, and known by several histories well written. He died in 1724.

MARTIGNAC (Stephen), born in 1628. He was the first who ever gave a tolerable prose translation of Virgil, Horace, &c. I doubt much whether they can ever be successfully translated in verse. It would not be sufficient to possess their genius for the purpose. The difference of the languages is an almost insurmountable obstacle. He died in 1698.

MASCARON (Julius), of Marseilles, born in 1634. He was first Bishop of Tulle, and afterwards of Agen. His Funeral Sermons originally balanced the fame of those of Bossuet; but, at present, they only serve to shew how great a man Bossuet was. He died in 1703.

MASSILLON, born in Provence, in 1663, of the Oratory. He was Bishop of Clermont. He was the preacher who understood the world the best. His stile was more florid than that of Bourdaloue, and more agreeable; and his eloquence breathed the Courtier, the Academician, and the man of sense. His philosophy, besides, was of the moderate and tolerating cast. He died in 1748.

* The reader must guess at the sense of this passage himself, for I cannot supply it. *Translator.*

MAUCROIX (Francis), born at Noyon, in 1619. An Historian, a Poet, and well versed in literature. He died in 1708.

MENAGE (Giles), of Angers, born in 1613. He has proved that it is much easier to write verse in Italian than in French. His Italian poems are esteemed, even in Italy; and our own language is much obliged to his disquisitions. He was a man of knowledge in various branches of learning. He died in 1692. La Monnoye has much augmented and corrected the *Ménagiana* *.

MENETRIER (Claudius-Francis), born in 1631, has afforded great assistance to the science of Heraldry, of Emblems, and Devices. He died in 1705.

MERI (John), born in Berry, in 1645. He was one of those who were well skilled in Surgery, and illustrated the knowledge of it by his writings. He has left us several useful observations, and died in 1722.

MEZERAI (Francis), born at Argentan, in Normandy, in 1610. His *History of France* is well known, but his other works not much. He was deprived of his pension for having spoken truth. In his writings he was more bold than exact, and his style was unequal. He died in 1683.

MIMEURES (the Marquis de), *Menin* † to Monseigneur, son of Louis XIV. Some pieces of poetry of his composition are not inferior to those of Racan or of Mainard. But as those authors appeared at a time when good poetry was a rarity, and the Marquis of Mimeures lived in an age when it had reached perfection, they acquired fame, while he was hardly taken

* A collection of his Sayings, Opinions, &c. published under that title, taken from his name. Among the singularities of this person's character, the following whim was not the least remarkable. As soon as any piece of his was published, he followed it to the press with an anonymous criticism, to prove that the author had not one requisite of a Poet in any of his writings, and that he wrote all his poems *inuitâ Minerva*, by the mere dint of labour, without genius—What a caprice! *Translator*.

† A man of quality particularly attached to the Dauphin, was so called under Louis XIV. *Ibid*.

notice of. However, his *Ode to Venus*, imitated from Horace, is not unworthy of the original.

LE MOINE (Peter), a Jesuit, born in 1602. His *Easy Devotion* rendered him ridiculous; but he might have raised himself into fame by his *Louisiad*. He had a vast imagination. How happened it then that he failed of success? It was because he wanted taste, wanted an acquaintance with the genius of the French language, and wanted impartial friends. He died in 1671.

MOLIERE (John-Baptist), born at Paris, in 1620: The best Comic Poet of any nation of Europe. This article has obliged me to look back into the Comic Authors of Antiquity; and it must be confessed, that if we compare the art and regularity of our Theatre with the unconnected scenes of the Ancients; their feeble plots; their absurd manner of making the Actors, in a cold, uninteresting, and improbable monologue, tell the audience what they had done, and meant farther to do; we must confess, I say, that Moliere has brought Comedy out of its original chaos, as well as Corneille had brought Tragedy; and that the French have been superior in this article to all the nations of the earth*.

Moliere had, besides, another species of merit, of which neither Corneille, Racine, or La Fontaine, could boast. He was a Philosopher; and was so both in theory and practice. It was to this Philosopher that the Archbishop of Paris, Harlai, so infamous for his morals, refused the empty honours of sepulture; and the King was forced to interfere, and prevailed at last to suffer Moliere to be buried privately in the church-yard of the little chapel of St. Joseph, in the suburb Montmartre. He died in 1673.

One is provoked at the envy shewn, in some of the new Dictionaries, in depreciating the verse of Moliere, by preferring his prose, upon the opinion of the Archbishop of Cambray. Fénelon, who seemed in effect to give the preference to the prose of this great Comic writer, had his reasons for liking only poeti-

* A Gasconade! *Translator.*

cal prose* ; but Boileau was not of the same opinion.

It must be allowed, that excepting some negligences, negligences that Comedy admits of, Moliere is replete with admirable verses, which easily imprint themselves on the memory. *Le Misanthrope*, or, *The Man-hater*; *Les Femmes Savantes*, or, *The Learned Ladies*; and *Le Tartuffe*, or, *The Hypocrite*; are written with the spirit of Boileau's satires. The *Ambittrion* is a collection of Epigrams and Madrigals †, composed with an art that has never since been successfully imitated.

Good poetry is to good prose, what Dancing is to graceful Walking; what an Air is to Recitative; or what the Colouring of a Pencil is to the Sketches of a Crayon. For this reason the Greeks and Romans never had a Comedy in prose.

Abbé MONGAUT. The best translation that we have of Cicero's Letters, is executed by him. It is, besides, enriched with judicious and useful notes. He had been Preceptor to the son of the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France.

MONNOYE (Bernard la), born at Dijon, in 1641. A person of great learning. He was the first who obtained the Prize of Poetry at the French Academy; and indeed his Poem of *Le Duel Aboli*, or, *The Abolition of the Duel*, which won the prize, is very nearly one of the best pieces of Poetry that has appeared in France. He died in 1732.

It is not to be accounted for why M. L'Avocat, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, has said, in his Dictionary, that *The Christmas Carols* of La Monnoye, in the Burgundian dialect, are the best of his productions. Is it because the Sorbonne, who were intirely ignorant of the Provincial language in which they were written, had issued a decree against those Poems, without being able to understand them?

* His *Telemachus* is written in this stile, which might, therefore, possibly have rendered him partial to it. *Translator.*

† The *Madrigal* is a species of the Epigram, but admits of greater latitude.

MONTESQUIEU (Charles), President of the Parliament of Bourdeaux, was born in 1689, and at the age of thirty-two published his *Persian Letters*, a work of humour; in which, however, are to be met with passages that shew a more solid understanding, than the book itself seems to promise. It is an imitation of the *Siamese Letters* of Dufreni, and of the *Turkish Spy*; but such a copy as shews rather how those originals ought to have been written.

This kind of writing generally owes its success to the foreign air that is given it. One puts with advantage in the mouth of an Asiatic, a satirical stroke against our country, which would not be much thought of, if spoken by a native. What is meer common-place in itself, becomes a shrewd remark by such address.

The genius distinguishable in the *Persian Letters*, opened to the President Montesquieu the doors of the French Academy, though that very Academy was abused in his book. But, at the same time, the freedom with which he spoke of Government, and some liberties he took with Religion, drew upon him an exclusion, from Cardinal Fleury.

He conducted himself very artfully upon this occasion, to gain over the Minister. He caused a new edition of his work to be immediately printed, in which he cancelled, or softened, every passage that could give offence either to the Cardinal or the Minister. He then carried the book himself to the Cardinal, who seldom read, and only looked cursorily over it; but this air of confidence, with some solicitations of persons of consequence, overpowered the Cardinal, and Montesquieu took his seat in the Academy.

He afterwards published his Tract *On the Grandeur and Declension of the Romans*; an exhausted subject, which he rendered new, by ingenious reflections and strong painting. Indeed it is a political History of the Roman Empire. After this he published his *Esprit de Loix*, or, *Spirit of Laws*; in which is discovered considerably more genius than either in Grotius or Puffendorf. It is with difficulty we can peruse those authors; but

but we read the *Spirit of Laws* as much for amusement as instruction.

This book is written with the same freedom as the *Persian Letters*; and this freedom has not a little contributed to its success, as it raised him up some enemies; which increased his reputation, from the hate that their malice excited against them. These were men nursed in the obscure factions of ecclesiastical warfare, who regarded their opinions as sacred, and those who controverted them as sacrilegious. They wrote violently against the President Montesquieu; they engaged the Sorbonne to examine his book; but the contempt in which this involved them, put a stop to the inquiry.

The principal merit of this work, the *Spirit of Laws*, is that love of legislation which reigns in it; and this love of legislation is founded on the love of mankind. What is very singular, is, that the eulogy he bestows on the English Constitution, is what has pleased the French the most. The lively and sharp irony he throws out against the Inquisition, has charmed every one, the Inquisitors alone excepted; and his reflections, which are generally profound, are founded upon examples drawn from the history of all nations.

It is true, however, that he has been charged with too often taking his examples from inconsiderable savage nations, little known in Europe, and trusting to the unauthentic relations of travellers. He does not always quote with sufficient exactness. He cites, for example, from the author of the *Political Testament* attributed to Cardinal Richelieu, that "if any unhappy honest man should happen to be found among the people, he should not be employed." But the *Political Testament*, in the place alluded to, only says, that "it would be better to make use of men of fortune and education, because they are more incorruptible." Montesquieu is also mistaken in many other quotations. He says, for instance, that Francis the First, who was not born when Christopher Columbus discovered America, had refused the offers of Columbus.

The

The continual defect of method in this work; the singular affectation of putting often only four or five lines in a chapter, and making those few lines contain nothing but a stroke of humour; have offended a great many readers, who have complained at sometimes meeting with jests, where they expected arguments. He has been likewise charged with having imposed doubtful notions for certain principles. But if he does not always instruct his reader, he always makes him think; and that alone is a considerable merit.

His lively and ingenious manner of expressing himself, so much in the style of Montagne his countryman, has contributed above all to the great reputation of the *Spirit of Laws*. The same things said by any other man of knowledge, even by one more learned than himself, might possibly not be taken notice of. In short, there are hardly any works which contain more wit, more profound ideas, bolder strokes, and which convey more instruction, either in approving or combating his opinions.

This performance has certainly a right to be placed in the rank of those original works that have reflected lustre upon the Age of Louis XIV. and which has no model among the Ancients. He died in 1755, as he had always lived, like a Philosopher.

MONTFAUCON (Bernard), born in 1655. A Benedictine. One of the most knowing Antiquaries in Europe. He died in 1741.

MONTPENSIER (Anna-Maria-Louisa of Orleans), known under the appellation of *Mademoiselle*, daughter of Gaston of Orleans*, born at Paris, in 1627. Her Memoirs are more those of a private woman taken up with herself, than of a Princess conversant with great events; but some curious anecdotes are to be found in them. She died in 1693.

MONTREUIL (Matthew de), was one of those easy and agreeable writers, of which the Age of Louis XIV.

* Duke of Orleans, and uncle to Louis XIV. See his character under the list of the *Princes of the Blood*.

produced such numbers that obtained a reputation in the middling class of writing. There were but few great geniuses; but the spirit of that æra, and imitation, had created many entertaining authors.

MORERI (Louis), born in Provence, in 1643. It was not to be imagined that the author of the *Poys d'Amour*, or, *The Kingdom of Love*, and the translator of *Roderigo*, should have undertaken, in his early years, the first Dictionary of Facts that was ever published. This great work cost him his life.

The reformed and greatly augmented work which still bears his name, was not his; it is a new city built upon the old foundation. Too many spurious genealogies have done injury to this useful work. He died in 1680.

They have made Supplements to this Dictionary that are full of errors.

MORIN (Michael-John-Baptist), born in Beaujolois, in 1583. A Physician, a Mathematician, and, from the ignorance of the times, an Astrologer also. He drew the Horoscope of Louis XIV. Notwithstanding his superstition, he was a man of knowledge. He died in 1656.

MORIN (John), born at Blois, in 1591. He was a person well skilled in the Oriental tongues, and a good critic. He died at the Oratory, in 1659.

MORIN (Simon), born in Normandy, in 1623. He is not mentioned here, except to lament his fatal folly, and that of Saint-Sorlin-Desmarets, his accuser. Saint-Sorlin was a fanatic, and impeached Morin for being the same. Morin, who deserved nothing but Bedlam, was burned alive, in 1663, before Philosophy had made sufficient progress to prevent the learned from dogmatizing, and the Judges from being cruel.

LA MOTTE-HOUDART (Antony), born at Paris in 1672; famous for his Tragedy of *Agnes de Castro*, one of the most interesting of those pieces that remain still on the Theatre; and for his three ingenious Operas; but above all for some Odes that brought him originally great reputation, in which are as much matter as versè,

and where he shews himself both a philosopher and a poet.

Even his prose is still held in esteem. He wrote the speech of the Marquis de Mimur, and of Cardinal Du Bois, when they were received into the French Academy; the Manifesto of the war of 1718; and the speech that Cardinal Tencin spoke before the little Council of Embrun. The story of this is remarkable. An Archbishop condemns a Bishop, and it was an author of plays and operas who wrote the sermon for the Archbishop.

He had a great many friends; that is to say, many people were pleased with his company: however, I saw him die, in 1731, without any attendants beside his death-bed. The Abbé Trublet says, that there were a great many; but he must have been there at other times than I was.

The interest of truth alone obliges me, in this place, to exceed the usual bounds of these articles.

This man, of such mild manners, and of whom no one had ever the least cause to complain, has been accused since his death, almost juridically, of an enormous crime;—with having himself composed the horrible couplets that were the ruin of Rousseau, in the year 1710, and with having conducted, for several years, all the processes that led to the condemnation of an innocent man.

This accusation had the more weight, as having been made by a person thoroughly apprized of the whole affair, and who vouched it, as it were, on the sanction of a death-bed testimony.

N. Boindin, Procurator-general of the Treasury of France, dying in 1752, left a very circumstantial memoir behind him, in which he charges, after an interval of above forty years, La Motte Houdart, of the French Academy, Joseph Saurin, of the Academy of Sciences, and Malafaire, a toy-merchant, with having contrived that plot, in consequence of which the Châtelet and the Parliament had consecutively pronounced unjust sentences.

Now,

Now, in the first place, if N. Boindin was thoroughly persuaded of the innocence of Rousseau, why so long delay to declare it? Why not publish it, at least, immediately after the death of his enemies? Why did he not produce this memoir then, which he had written above twenty years before?

Secondly, Who does not see clearly that this memoir was a defamatory libel, and that this man equally hated every one of those he mentions, in this consignment of their names to the detestation of posterity?

Thirdly, He begins his recital with facts that are known to be false. He pretends that the Count de Nocé, and N. Mélon, Secretary to the Regent, were the associates of Malafaire, a toy-pedlar. All those who were in the least acquainted with these persons, have pronounced the story to be a vile calumny. He afterwards confounds N. La Faye, Secretary of the King's Cabinet, with his brother, Captain of the Guards. In fine, how could a toy-pedlar have any hand in the framing of couplets?

Fourthly, Boindin pretends that this toy-man and Saurin the geometrician leagued themselves with La Motte, to prevent Rousseau from obtaining the pension of Boileau, who was then alive in 1710. Now is it possible to be imagined, that three persons of such different ranks and professions should unite themselves, and contrive together so far-fetched a scheme, one so infamous and difficult, for the unaccountable purpose of depriving a person, at that time hardly known, of a pension not vacant, which Rousseau would not have obtained if it had, and which not any of the three conspirators had the least pretension to hope for themselves?

Fifthly, After having acknowledged that Rousseau had written the first five couplets that were followed by those which brought on his disgrace, he charges La Motte Houdart with writing a dozen others, in the same stile; and his only proof to support this accusation is, that these dozen couplets, written against a dozen persons that were to assemble at N. de Villiers's

house, were carried by La Motte Houdart himself to the house of N. de Villiers, an hour after Rousseau had been informed that the persons named in the lampoon were to meet at that place. Now, says he, Rousseau could not in so short a time have been able to compose and copy these defamatory verses. It was La Motte Houdart that carried them; ergo, La Motte must have been the author.

On the contrary, it should appear, that since he had the honesty to bring them, he ought not to be suspected for having had the villainy of writing them. They were laid at his door, and at other people's also. He opened the packet, he found in it some gross abuse against all his friends, and against himself too; he produced the libel: nothing could shew his innocence more.

Sixthly, Those who interest themselves in the history of this iniquitous mystery ought to be informed, that there used to be meetings, for a month before, at N. de Villiers's; and that the party was generally composed of those very persons whom Rousseau had before abused in five couplets which he had the imprudence to repeat to many persons. The very first of these same dozen couplets sufficiently pointed out that the persons concerned used to meet together, sometimes at the Coffee-house, and sometimes at N. de Villiers's.

Sots assemblés chez de Villiers ;
 Parmi les sots troupe d'élite,
 D'un vil café dignes pilliers,
 Craignez la fureur qui m'irrite.
 Je vais vous poursuivre en tous lieux,
 Vous noircir, vous rendre odieux ;
 Je veux que partout on vous chante :
 Vous percer et rire à vos yeux
 Est une douceur qui m'enchanté.

Sots associates with Villars,
 Of all dunces the elect ;
 To a tavern-door sit pillars,
 Of my vengeance dread th' effect.

Dwing

During life I will attack ye,
 Damn your fames with loud report;
 And while thus I hew and hack ye,
 Heart could wish no better sport.

Seventhly, It is false that the first five couplets, acknowledged for Rousseau's, only glanced a little ridicule against five or six particular persons, as the memoir pretends to say. They are full as outrageous as the remainder.

Que le bourreau par son valet
 Fasse un jour ferrer le fiffet
 De Berrin et de sa sequelle ;
 Que Pecour qui fait le ballet
 Ait le fouet au pied de l'echelle.

The hangman will, one day, I hope,
 Stifle the pipes with hempen rope,
 Of Berrin and his screech-owl crew ;
 And may Pecour, who made the ballet *,
 With Berrin's fate in part to tally,
 From beadle's lash receive his due.

Such is the stile of those first five couplets, confessed to be Rousseau's. Surely this is not the *glancing a little ridicule*. The remainder of the piece is written with the same rancour.

Eighthly, As to the last couplets of the same kind, that were the cause of the process commenced against Saurin of the Academy of Sciences, in the year 1710, the memoir says nothing but what the brief of the process had informed us of a long time before. It only asserts, that the unhappy person who was condemned to banishment for having been suborned by Rousseau, should have been sent to the galleys, if he had really been a false witness.

But Le Sieur Boindin is mistaken in this point ; for, in the first place, it had been an absurd piece of injustice to have condemned the *suborned* to the galleys, when they had only deemed the penalty of banishment

* *Ballet* is pronounced *Ballé*. *Translator*.

against the *suborner*. In the second place, this unhappy person had not been brought as an accuser against Saurin. He could not be intirely suborned. He had only made several declarations contradicting each other; and the nature of his fault, and the weakness of his understanding, did not deserve so exemplary a punishment.

Ninthly, N. Boindin says expressly in his memoir, that the family of Noailles and the Jesuits assisted in the prosecution against Rousseau, and that Saurin made use of their credit and partiality. But I know for a certainty, and many persons still alive know it as well as I, that neither the family of Noailles nor the Jesuits interferred in the matter. Nay, the partiality was, at first, intirely in favour of Rousseau; for though the public clamour was raised against him, he had gained over two Secretaries of State on his side, Monsieur de Pontchartrain and Monsieur Voisin, which the popular clamour could not intimidate. It was by their orders, in form of solicitations, that the Lieutenant-Criminal Le Comte decreed against and imprisoned Saurin, interrogated him, confronted him, re-examined him, and all in the space of twenty-four hours, by a precipitate trial. The Chancellor reprimanded the Lieutenant-Criminal for this violent and unprecedented method of proceeding.

As to the Jesuits, it is so far from being true that they had declared against Rousseau, that immediately after the contradictory sentence of the Châtelet, by which he had been unanimously condemned, he retired to the Noviciate of the Jesuits, under the direction of Father Sanadon, at the time that he appealed to the Parliament.

This retreat among the Jesuits proves two things: the first, that they were not his enemies: the second, that he meant to oppose his practice of religion to the charges of profligacy that had been before brought against him. He had before composed his best Psalms, at the same time that he wrote those loose Epigrams which he intitled the *Gloria Patri*, or *Doxology*, of his Psalms,

Psalms, and Danchet had addressed these lines to him on that occasion :

A te masquer habile,
Traduis tour à tour,
Pétrone à la Ville,
David à la Cour, &c.

To act the artful hypocrite,
Translate by turns, in sport,
Petronius, when you play the cit,
And pious hymns at court, &c.

It cannot then be thought extraordinary, that having assumed the cloak of religion while he wore also that of the Cynic, he should afterwards preserve the first, which was then become so necessary to him. We should not, however, deduce any consequence from this induction; for no being but God knows the heart of man.

Tenthly, It is important to observe, that during above thirty years which La Motte Houdart, Saurin, and Malafaire, survived this prosecution, not any of them was ever suspected of the least evil transaction, or of the slightest satirical vein. La Motte Houdart never once even replied to those bitter invectives known by the name of *Calotes**, and other titles, which one or two persons, who were detested by all the world, heaped upon him for a long time. He never dishonoured his talents by satire; and even in 1709, abused continually by Rousseau, he wrote this fine Ode :

On ne se choisit point son père :
Par un reproche populaire
Le sage n'est point abattu.
Oui, quoi que le vulgaire pense,
Rousseau, la plus vile naissance
Donne du lustre à la vertu, &c.

Since sons their fathers can't elect,
Be wise, Rousseau, then, and neglect

* *Calote* signifies both a *cap* and a *lampoon*. In which sense the word is to be understood, in this place, I cannot determine, as I never saw the pieces. *Translator*.

The vulgar error and abuse ;
 Not birth, but virtue, forms the man ;
 No other difference should we scan :
 In things what merit, but their use ? &c.

When, I say, he composed this piece, it was rather a lesson of morality and philosophy, than a satire. He exhorted Rousseau, who had disavowed his father, not to be ashamed of his low birth, and advised him to subdue his spirit of envy and of satire. Nothing could less resemble the virulence that breathes throughout the couplets of which he was accused.

But Rousseau, after a condemnation which should have taught him wisdom, whether he was guilty or innocent, could never restrain his natural disposition. He frequently wrote epigrams against the same persons he had abused in the couplets in question, La Faye, Danchet, La Motte Houdart, &c. He made verses against both his old and his new protectors. Several of them are to be seen in a heap of letters, very little deserving to be preserved, which have, however, been published ; and the greatest part of those verses are in the very stile and spirit of the couplets for which the Parliament had condemned him ; witness the following against the famous musician Rameau.

Distillateurs d'accords baroques,
 Dont tant d'idiots sont fêrus,
 Chez les Thraces et les Iroques,
 Portez vos opéra bourus, &c.

Cease to compose such sersech-owl sounds,
 Which only suit an idiot's ear ;
 Thy art all harmony confounds,
 Fit music for a dancing-bear, &c.

There are also others of the same kind, inserted in the collection, intitled *The Porte-Feuille of Rousseau*, written against Abbé Olivet, who had formed a scheme for his return to France. In short, towards the latter end of his life, when he lived for a time concealed in Paris, pretending to give himself up entirely to devotion,

votion, he could not refrain from writing sarcastical epigrams. 'Tis true that age had weakened his stile, but had not reformed his character: whether owing to a contrast in his composition, which is not uncommon in human nature, he joined malevolence to devotion, or from a viciousness, not less common, his devotion was but hypocrisy.

Eleventhly, If Saurin, La Motte, and Malafaire, had concerted the plot together of which they are accused, these three persons having fallen out among themselves since the time of that supposed transaction, it is very extraordinary that nothing of this combination had ever transpired. This reflection is not, indeed, a proof; but, joined to others, it must be allowed to have its weight.

Twelfthly, If a young lad, as simple and ignorant as the person named William Arnold, condemned as a witness suborned by Rousseau, had not been really guilty, he would have declared so; he would have exclaimed against the injustice of his punishment, all his life. But I knew him. His mother was a cook-maid to my father, as is said in the *factum* * of Saurin; and his mother and he both have often acknowledged to me, in the presence of all my family, that his sentence was just.

Why then, after an interval of about forty-two years, should N. Boindin, on his death-bed, leave behind him an authenticated accusation against three persons who had died before him? It might be said that the Memoir had been written twenty years prior to his death; that Boindin hated them all three; that he resented La Motte's not soliciting his admission into the French Academy, and his having declared to him that his enemies, who accused him of Atheism, had been the cause of his exclusion. He had fallen out with Saurin, who was as haughty and inflexible as himself; and had also quarrelled with

* The *factum* is a law-term, in France, for the *brief*, or *state of the case*, of a *Plaintiff*, or *Defendant*. *Translator*.

Malafaire, an harsh and unpolished man. He was likewise become the professed enemy of Lériget de la Faye, who had written the following epigram against him.

Oui, Vadius, on connaît votre esprit ;
Savoir s'y joint, & quand le cas arrive,
Qu'œuvre parait par quelque coin fautive,
Plus aigrement qui jamais la reprit ?
Mais on ne voit qu'en vous aussi se montre
L'art de louer le beau qui s'y rencontre,
Dont cependant maints beaux esprits font cas.
De vos pareils que voulez-vous qu'on pense ?
Eh quoi ! qu'ils font connaisseurs délicats ?
Pas n'en voudrais tirer la conséquence,
Mais bien qu'ils font gens à fuir de cent pas.

Why, Vadius, yes ; your wit we don't dispute,
Nor yet your learning we shall not refute.
If any piece is faulty in its kind,
A critic more severe we cannot find.
But to its merits are you so quick-sighted,
With which all men of taste are so delighted ?
I answer, No. Then sure all authors may
Gainst such illiberal censures justly say,
" Such want of candour never can be prized,
" Feared but by fools, by men of sense despised."

This was, in truth, the character of Boindin, who is described in the *Temple of Taste*, under the name of *Bardou*. He was in his Memoir, then, the dupe of his own resentment ; for he was as incapable of saying what he did not believe ; as he was of changing any opinion that his mistake or caprice had once possessed him with. His manners were irreproachable ; he led always a philosophic life, even to severity, and performed several actions of generosity ; but his harsh and unfociable temper rendered him subject to many prejudices, of which he was not to be cured.

This whole unhappy affair, which subsisted so long, and with which nobody was better acquainted than myself, took its rise from the innocent amusement that several eminent persons used to indulge themselves in, of meeting in a sociable intercourse together at a coffee-house. But they did not properly

properly observe the first law of society, viz. to preserve good-breeding among one another. They used to criticise each other pretty severely; which, for want of politeness or address, inspired lasting enmities, and sometimes instigated to crimes. We shall leave it now to the reader, whether, in this affair, there be three persons guilty, or only one.

It has been said, that, at least, Saurin might have been the author of the latter couplets attributed to Rousseau. It might possibly be, indeed, that Rousseau, having been confessedly known to be guilty of the first five, which contained the same virulence, Saurin might have added the others to ruin him; though Saurin was at that very time deeply engaged in algebraic calculations; though he was himself grossly abused in the same piece; though all the offended persons unanimously imputed it to Rousseau; and, finally, although Saurin was acquitted of the charge, after a solemn trial: but if the thing is physically within the possibility of fact, it is not within the reasonableness of belief.

Rousseau, indeed, accused him of it, all his life; nay, charged him with the crime in his last testament; but the Professor Rollin, to whom Rousseau communicated this testament when he returned clandestinely to Paris, obliged him to erase that article; so that Rousseau contented himself with protesting his own innocence in his last moments, but never dared to accuse La Motte, either pending the course of the process, or during the rest of his life, nor on his death-bed. He satisfied himself with penning satirical lines against him*. (See the article of JOSEPH SAURIN.)

MATTE-

* The foregoing detail, or argument, may be thought, by the generality of readers, too tedious and uninteresting, as being, in effect, only a pleading in favour of persons long since dead, of whom, probably, they may never have heard before, and about whom, consequently, they cannot be supposed to have any manner of concern. But to a liberal mind the investigation of the question here brought into dispute, must surely be allowed a merit superior to wit or literature, as being an additional proof of that generous and active spirit

MOTTEVILLE (Frances Bertaut de), born in 1615, in Normandy. This Lady has written Memoirs which particularly relate to Anne of Austria, mother to Louis XIV. containing a number of insignificant incidents told with a great air of frankness. She died in 1689.

NAIN DE TILLEMONT (Sebastian le), son to John le Nain, Master of the Requests, born at Paris in 1637, the pupil of Nicole, and one of the most learned Writers of Port-Royal. His *History of the Emperors*, and his sixteen volumes of the *Ecclesiastical History*, are written with as much veracity as the compilations of ancient history would admit of: for all history, before the invention of Printing, was full of contradictions and uncertainty. He died in 1698.

NAUDE (Gabriel), born at Paris, in 1690, was a Physician, but more of a Philosopher. He was first attached to Cardinal Barberini, at Rome; afterwards to Cardinal Richelieu; then to Cardinal Mazarin; and, lastly, to Queen Christina, to the lustre of whose learned Court he for some time contributed. He at length retired to Abbeville, where he died, as soon as he began to be his own master.

Of all his works, his *Apology for the great Men accused of Magic*, is almost the only one which yet remains to us. One might make a much larger book of the

spirit which prompted our author to exert his talents, to expend his fortune, and to employ his influence in vindicating the unfortunate and oppressed families of Calas, of the Syrvens and Barré, &c. Nay, in the present defence there appears to be something even more noble than in the other instances; as in those cases there subsisted still some objects of commiseration to excite humanity; but in this particular, the clients of his patronage no longer existed. The only spirit then which could possibly have actuated him upon this occasion, must certainly have been that which he declares in the preface to this pleading, in these words: "*The interest of Truth alone obliges me, in this place, to exceed the usual bounds of these articles.*"

No acknowledgments, no gratitude, not even the mean consideration, of fame, could be expected from the dead. 'Tis the character of the Divine nature to bestow favour on *unprofitable servants*. Yet the true Catholic Church refused this man christian burial in France, because he happened not to be *ritually* orthodox, though he was *virtually* so: his nephew was obliged to carry off his remains to Ferney. *Translator,*

great men who have been accused of impiety since Socrates.

—*Populus nam solos credit habendos
Esse Deos quos ipse colit* *.

NEMOURS (Maria de Longueville Duchefs of), born in 1625. She wrote some Memoirs, in which are related a few particulars of the unhappy times of the Fronde. She died in 1707.

NEVERS (Philip Duke of). He wrote some poetical pieces in a particular stile. One is not to give intire credit to the sonnet parodied by Racine and Despréaux :

Dans un palais doré Nevers jaloux & blême,
Fait des vers où jamais perfonne n'entend rien.

Nevers, in gilded domes, envious and pale,
Pens verses that exceed all understanding †.

He wrote many that were easily to be understood, and read too with great pleasure; as those verses, for instance, against Rancé, the famous reformer of La Trappe ‡, who had written against Archbishop Fénelon.

* “The vulgar think there are no Gods, but those whom they themselves worship.” *Translator.*

† Boileau has been often charged with a little of that same *envious and pale* spirit, himself;

“To damn for arts which taught himself to rise.”

Nor was the author of that very line free from the censure of it, in many of his writings—the *Dunciad*, & *alibi*.

This is very unfair.—Must all artists be run down, who are not at the top of their *metier*? Must no one get bread, but they who deserve cake? Those who attack others, indeed, merit chastisement. The God of Verse himself commenced the precedent, in the example of Marfyas. Zoilus, Bavius, &c. were, therefore, proper objects of satiric resentment; this is but *poet-slaughter*, in one's own defence. But why should your poor harmless poetasters, most of whom but write to eat—not for *fama*, but *fames*—be reduced to starve, or be deprived of even their thin *paper diet*? *Ibid.*

‡ A Convent of the severest Order in France. Perpetual silence is one of their injunctions. *Ibid.*

Cet Abbé qu'on croyait paîtri de sainteté,
 Vieilli dans la retraite & dans l'humilité,
 Orgueilleux de ses croix, bouffi de sa souffrance,
 Rompt ses sacrés statuts en rompant le silence ;
 Et contre un saint Prélat s'animant aujourd'hui,
 Du fond de ses deserts déclame contre lui ;
 Et moins humble de cœur que fier de sa doctrine,
 Il ose décider ce que Rome examine.

That Abbé, deem'd so humble and so holy,
 Grown old in cell and pious melancholy,
 Proud of his cross, elated with his yoke,
 His sacred vows, at once, and silence broke ;
 Now 'gainst a blameless prelate he declaims,
 And from his cloister stings his satire aims ;
 Less meek of heart than flash'd with learning's pride,
 Where Rome yet doubts, he boldly dares decide*.

His wit and his talents were revived and perfected in his grandson. He died in 1707.

NICERON (John-Peter), a Barnabite †, born at Paris, in 1685. He was author of the *Memoirs of the illustrious Men in Literature*. They are not all illustrious ; but he speaks of each of them according to their merits ; he does not call a goldsmith a great man. He deserves to be ranked among the men of useful knowledge. He died in 1738.

NICOLE (Peter), born at Chartres, in 1625. He was one of the best Writers of Port-Royal. What he has written against the Jesuits, is scarcely read, at present ; but his *Essays on Morals*, which are a work useful to mankind, will never be out of date. That chapter, particularly, on the means of preserving peace in society, is a master-piece, to which there is nothing of the same kind that is equal, in all the ancient writings. But that peace is, perhaps, as difficult to establish, as that of the Abbé de Saint Pierre ‡. He died in 1695.

* These lines, with only a few alterations, are borrowed from a former version, as there cannot be a better translation of the original. In such a case it had been affected to have attempted a new one, and unfair to have given a worse. *Translator.*

† A particular Order, in France. *Ibid.*

‡ He wrote a scheme for a perpetual peace in Europe. See the article under his name, in the subsequent part of this Catalogue. *Ibid.*

NIVELLE DE LA CHAUSSEE. He wrote some Comedies in a new and tender stile, which met with success*. It is true, that, as a writer of Comedies, he wanted a real comic genius. Many persons of taste could not bear Comedies where there were no lively scenes to be met with; but there is certainly great merit in being able to affect an audience, to treat a moral well, and to compose elegant verses, correctly written; and these were the talents of this author. He was born in the reign of Louis XIV.

It has been said, that where he approaches the tragic strain, in his pieces, he is not always sufficiently interesting, and what is meant for mere comedy, is not humorous enough. The proper mixture of these different metals is very difficult to be hit on. However, La Chaussée is reckoned among the first writers who rank after those of true genius. He died about the year 1750.

NODOT is only known from his *Fragments of Petronius*, which he had found at Belgrade, in 1688; and the hiatus's that he has filled up do not seem to be such bad Latin as his adversaries have deemed them. There may be met with in those places some words and expressions, I confess, that neither Cicero, Virgil, nor Horace ever made use of; but Petronius himself is full of such phrases, or idioms, which more modern manners and later usages had given rise to.

I do not insert this article relating to Nodot, for any other reason than to make known that this satire of Petronius is not that which the Consul Petronius is reported to have sent to Nero, just before he had his veins opened: *flagitia Principis sub nominibus exoletorum, feminarumque, et novitate cujusque stupri præscripta, atque obſignata miſit Neroni.*

It is supposed that the Professor *Agamemnon* meant Seneca; but the stile of Seneca is the direct opposite to that of Agamemnon, *turgida oratio*; and Nodot's *Agamemnon* is a flat declaimer of the Schools.

† This is what is now stiled *La Comédie larmoyante*. Translator.

The character of *Trimalcion* is as absurdly supposed to be designed for Nero. How could a young Emperor, who, after all, had wit and talents, be represented by an old ridiculous tax-gatherer, who made feasts for parasites still more ridiculous than himself, and who speaks with as much stupidity and ignorance as the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, the *Gentleman Cit*, of Moliere?

How could the dirty idiot Fortunata, who is much below *Madame Jourdain**, be supposed the wife or mistress of Nero? What connection could a set of rabble, who sculk in blind alleys, and support themselves by filching, have with the magnificent and voluptuous Court of an Emperor? What person of common sense, in reading this licentious writing, must not immediately conclude, that it was penned by some loose young fellow of parts, but whose taste had not been yet formed; who, according to the vein he was in, wrote sometimes good lines, and sometimes bad ones; who mixes often low humour with higher wit; and who was himself an example of the decadence of taste which he complains of? The key they have given to Petronius is much such another, as they have made to the Characters of La Bruyère. Both are written by guess.

D'OLIVET (Joseph), an Abbé, Counsellor of Honour to the Council of the Counts de Dôle, also a Member of the French Academy. He was born at Salins in 1682. He obtained a name in literature by his *History of the Academy*, at a time when they despaired of ever seeing any thing of the kind which should equal that by Pelisson.

We owe him also most elegant and faithful translations of the philosophic writings of Cicero, enriched with judicious remarks. All that author's works, printed under his inspection, and illustrated with his notes, are a noble monument to prove that the study of the Ancients was not neglected in this age. He spoke his own language with as much purity as Tully did his, and has rendered

* A Character in the play before mentioned. *Translator.*

great service to the French Grammar, by observations both critical and ingenious.

We owe to him, likewise, the edition of a book intitled, *Of the Weakness of the Human Understanding*, written by M. Huet, Bishop of Avranches, after a long experience had taught him to despise the absurd futilities of the Schools, and the rubbish of the barbarous ages.

The Jesuits, authors of the *Journal des Trévoux*, exclaimed against the Abbé d'Olivet, and denied that book to be written by Bishop Huet, on the sole pretence that it was unbecoming an old Prelate of Normandy to pronounce the school-divinity to be ridiculous, and that the legends resembled the four sons of Aimon; as if it was necessary to the edification of the world, that a Norman Bishop should be a drivelier. In the same manner they affirmed, that the Memoirs of Cardinal De Retz were not written by himself. The Abbé d'Olivet answered them, in the best manner possible, by producing the original copy before the Academy, in Bishop Huet's own manuscript. His age and his merit are our excuse for placing him, as well as the President Henault, in a list where we have made it a rule not to speak of any but the dead.

D'ORLEANS (Joseph), a Jesuit. He was the first person that ever chose in history the revolutions of States for his sole subject. Those of England, which he wrote, are in an eloquent stile; but since the æra of Henry VIII. he is more copious than faithful. He died in 1698.

OZANAM (James) was born a Jew, near Dombes, in 1640. He taught himself geometry, without a master, at the age of fifteen. He was the first that ever wrote a *Mathematical Dictionary*. His *Mathematical Recreations* are always upon sale. He died in 1717*.

* He used to say that the illiterate knew as much about religion, as the most learned, which was *unsystematically* reducing the true sense of it to practice. He said the Sorbonne may dispute, and the Pope may decide, but a Mathematician should go to heaven in a *perpendicular line*. *Translator*.

PAGI (Antony), a Provençal, born in 1624. He was a Franciscan. He corrected Baronius, and had a pension from the Clergy for that work. He died in 1699.

PAPIN (Isaac), born at Blois, in 1657. A Calvinist. He quitted his religion, and then wrote against it. He died in 1709.

PARDIES (Ignatius-Gaston). A Jesuit, born at Pau, in 1638, known by his *Elements of Geometry*, and by his treatise *On the Souls of Brutes*.

To imagine with Descartes that the Brute Creation are but simple machines, void of sensations, though formed with the proper organs for them, is to deny experience, and to affront Nature. To say that they are informed with a pure spirit, is to affirm what it is impossible to prove. To acknowledge that the inferior animals are endowed with sensations and memory, without pretending to know how they operate, is talking like a rational man, who knows that ignorance is a better thing than error. For of what work of Nature do we know the first principles? He died in 1673.

PARENT (Anthony), born at Paris, in 1666. A good Mathematician. He is another of those who taught themselves geometry, without a master. What is the most remarkable thing in his character, is, that he lived a long time at Paris, free and happy, upon an income that was scarcely two hundred livres a-year. He died in 1716.

PASCAL (Blaise), born in 1623, son of the first Intendant that was appointed at Rouen, and a most forward genius; but he would exert the superiority of his talents, as Kings do their power, by presuming to subject and overcome every thing by authority. The despotic and supercilious air which he manifests in his *Thoughts on various Subjects*, has disgusted many readers. He should have proposed his reasons more modestly. However, both eloquence and the French language are much indebted to him.

The

The enemies of Pascal and of Arnold contrived to suppress their eulogies, in the catalogue of *Illustrious Men*, published by Perrault; upon which occasion this passage of Tacitus was cited—*Præfulgebant Cassius et Brutus eo ipso quod eorum effigies non visebantur*. He died in 1662.

PATIN (Guy), born at Houdan, in 1601. He was a physician, but more famous for his slanderous letters than his medicines. A collection of them was read with avidity, because they contained private anecdotes, and the occurrences of the times, of which every one is fond; and satires too, of which they are still fonder. They serve to shew that cotemporary writers, who minute down the news of the day, are but treacherous guides for history. These articles of intelligence are often found to be false in fact, or misrepresented through malignity. Besides, these multitudes of trifling facts are only relished by small geniuses. He died in 1672.

PATIN (Charles), born at Paris, in 1633, was son to Guy Patin. His works are read by the studious, and those of his father by the idle. He was a learned Antiquary; but quitted France, and died Professor of Physic at Padua, in 1693.

PATRU (Oliver), born at Paris, in 1604; the first who introduced purity of language at the Bar. He received, in his last sickness, a gratuity from Louis XIV. who had been told that he was poor. He died in 1681*.

PAVILLON (Stephen), born at Paris, in 1632. He was Attorney-General to the Parliament of Metz, and known by some pieces of poetry written in a natural and unaffected stile. He died in 1705.

PELISSON-FONTANIER (Paul), born a Calvinist, at Bésiers, in 1624. An indifferent poet, but a man of great knowledge and eloquence. He was first-clerk and

* Upon his being received into the French Academy, he made an oration of thanks, which first introduced that custom, and which has continued, ever since. *Translator.*

confidant to the Superintendent Fouquet; and sent to the Bastille in 1661, where he remained four years and a half, for having been faithful to his master; and spent the remainder of his life in bestowing eulogiums on the King that had deprived him of his liberty. Such things never happen but in monarchies*.

Being more of a courtier than a philosopher, he changed his religion, and made his fortune. Master of the Exchequer, Master of the Requests, and Abbé, he was commissioned to employ one-third of his stewardship to make the Huguenots quit their religion, as he had done.

His History of the Academy was much applauded. He wrote many other works: *Prayers for the Mass*, a *Collection of galant pieces*, a *Treatise on the Eucharist*, besides a number of love odes to *Olimpia*.

This *Olimpia* was Mademoiselle Des-Vieux, who was said to have been contracted to the celebrated M. Bossuet, before he had entered into the church. But the works that did Péliſſon the most honour, were his excellent defence of Monsieur Fouquet, and his *History of the Conquest of Franche-Comté*.

The Protestants say that he died with perfect indifference; the Catholics say quite the contrary; but both agree that he died without the sacrament. He died in 1693.

PERRAULT (Claudius), born at Paris, in 1613. He was a Physician, but never practised in his profession, except for the relief of his friends. He became, without the assistance of any master, eminent in drawing and mechanics. He was a good physician, a good architect, an encourager of the arts under the protection of Colbert, and enjoyed a reputation, in spite of Boileau †. He died in 1688.

PERRAULT (Charles), born in 1626, brother to the former. He was Comptroller-General of the Buildings under Colbert, formed the plan of the Academies of Paint-

* Where can Kings be praised, but in monarchies? *Translator.*

† Who abused him. *Ibid.*

ing, Sculpture and Architecture; and was very serviceable to men of letters, who paid him great court during the life of his patron, but abandoned him after his death.

He is reproached with having too much under-rated the merits of the Ancients; but his greatest fault was the bad criticisms he made on them*, and his having made enemies even of those whom he might have brought into competition with them. This question (between the Ancients and the Moderns) has been, and will continue long, a divided opinion, as much as it was in the days of Horace. There are numbers of people in Italy who cannot read Homer without being tired, and every day Ariosto and Tasso with delight call Homer, notwithstanding, *incomparable!* He died in 1703.

N. B. It is said in the *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. II. page 27, that Addison having made a present of his works to Despreaux, he, in return, assured him that he would never have written against Perrault, if he had before perused such excellent pieces by a modern hand. How could they insert such an absurd falsity? Boileau never understood a word of English; no Frenchman studied the language at that time: it was not till towards the year 1730 that they began to be at all acquainted with it. Besides, even though Addison, who used to ridicule Boileau, was acquainted with him, why should not Boileau have written against Perrault in favour of the Ancients, whose praise is exalted by Addison in all his works? But, as I said somewhere before, let us never give credit to any of these *anas*, to any of these little anecdotes. A sure way to talk like a fool, is to repeat at hazard whatever one hears.

* From which circumstance it may be supposed that he wanted taste for their beauties, or was not sufficient master of their language. This, at least the latter part, was exactly the case of Voltaire himself, with regard to Shakespeare; he first translated him ill, and then criticized his own travesty. *Transf.*

PETAU (Denis), born at Orleans, in 1583. A Jesuit. He reformed the chronology, and wrote seventy works. He died in 1652*.

PETIS DE LA CROIX (Francis) was one of those whom the great Minister Colbert encouraged, and whose merit he rewarded. Louis XIV. sent him into Turkey and into Persia, at the age of sixteen, to learn the Oriental languages. Who would believe that he composed a part of the life of Louis XIV. in Arabic, and that the book is esteemed in the East?

He wrote the *History of Gengis-Kan, and of Tamerlane, compiled from the ancient Arabian Authors*, and several other useful books; but his translation of the *Thousand and one Days* †, is more read than any of them.

L'homme est de glace aux vérités,
Il est de feu pour le mensonge.

Though men to truth are cold as ice,
Their hearts are warm to subtle fiction.

He died in 1713.

PETIT (Peter), born at Paris, in 1617. A philosopher and a man of knowledge. He only wrote in Latin. He died in 1687.

PEZRON (Paul), of the Cistercian Order. He was born in Bretagne, in 1639. A great Antiquary, who investigated the origin of the Celtic language †. He died in 1706.

FIN (Louis du), born in 1637. A Doctor of the Sorbonne. His *Library of Ecclesiastical Authors* has gained him much reputation, and some enemies. He died in 1719.

PLACETTE (John la), of Bearn †, born in 1639. A protestant minister at Copenhagen and in Holland. Esteemed for various works. He died at Utrecht, in 1718.

* He is more generally known by the appellation of *Petauvius. Tran.*

† Should it not be *Nights*? *Ibid.*

‡ The language of the Goths. *Ibid.*

§ A province of France; which I mention, to distinguish it from Bearn in Switzerland. *Ibid.*

POLIGNAC (Melchior de), a Cardinal, born at Velay, in 1662. He was as good a Latin poet as any one can be in a dead language; and a man of great eloquence in his own. He was one of those who have proved that it is easier to write Latin than French verses. Unluckily for him, in combating Lucretius*, he happened to oppose Newton. He died in 1741.

DE PONTIS. His Memoirs have been so much in vogue, that it is necessary to say that this man, who had done so many great things for the service of the King, is the only one who never mentioned him; therefore these Memoirs are not his. They were the production of Du Fossé, one of the Writers of Port-Royal. He pretends that his hero took the name of his estate in Dauphiné; but there is no manor of that denomination in Dauphiné. It is even doubtful whether there is such a place as Pontis existing any where.

The Portative Historical Dictionary, in four volumes, affirms that these Memoirs are genuine. They are, however, stuffed with fables, as Father d'Avrigny has proved, in the preface to his historical memoirs.

POREE (Charles), born in Normandy, in 1675. A Jesuit. He was one of the small number of Professors who was well esteemed in the polite world. His eloquence was in the stile of Seneca. He was a poet and a man of wit. His greatest merit was to render his pupils fond of letters and of virtue. He died in 1741.

LA PORTE, first Valet-de-chambre to the Queen-Mother, and some time also to Louis XIV. He was thrown into prison by Cardinal Richelieu, and threatened with death, to force him to betray the secrets of his mistress, which, however, he did not reveal.

Among the heap of memoirs that unfold the history of that age, those of La Porte are not to be despised; they shew an honest man, an enemy to artifice or flattery, and rigid even to pedantry. He acknowledges he had informed the Queen that her too great familiarity with Cardinal Mazarin diminished the respect of her nobles and people towards her.

* In his *Anti-Lucretius; seu de Deo et Natura*. Translator.

There is in these Memoirs an anecdote on the infancy of Louis XIV. that ought to have rendered the memory of Cardinal Mazarin execrable, if he had been capable of the shameful crime which La Porte seems to impute to him.

Puy (Peter du), son to Claudius du Puy, Counsellor to the Parliament, a very learned man, was born in France, in 1583. The knowledge of Peter du Puy was useful to the State. He laboured more than any one at searching out old maps, and seeking after the crownlands that had been swallowed up in many manors. He unravelled the intricacies of the Salic law as much as it was possible, and proved the liberties of the Gallican Church were only a part of the original rights of the ancient Churches. It appears from his history of the Knights-Templars, that there were many criminal persons among them, but that the condemnation of the whole Order upon that account, and the execution of so many of the members, were acts of the most cruel injustice that ever were committed. He died in 1652.

PUY-SEGUR (the Marshal de) has left us an *Art of War*, as Boileau has given us an *Art of Poetry*.

QUESNEL (Pâquier), born in 1634, of the Oratory. He was very unhappy in having become the subject of a great dissention among his compatriots. Besides, he lived poor, and in exile.

His manners were severe, as they are of all those who pass their lives in disputes. About thirty pages altered and softened in his book, would have saved his country much contention; but then his name had not been so famous. He died in 1719*.

* His *Moral Reflections upon the New Testament*, a work of great merit, gave the most offence to the *Jesuits*, as containing some tenets which favoured Jansenism. The famous (*infamous*) Bull *Unigenitus* condemned 101 propositions contained in it. *Translator*:

QUIEN (Michael le), born in 1661. A Dominican. A man of great knowledge. He laboured much about the Eastern Churches, and also about the English Hierarchy. He particularly wrote against Le Courayer, on the validity of ordinations by Protestant Bishops; but the English set as little value upon these disputes, as the Turks did on the dissertations about the Greek Church. He died in 1703.

QUINAULT (Philip), born at Paris, in 1635, Auditor of Accounts, celebrated on account of his sweet lyric poems, and for the mildness which he opposed to the very unjust satires of Boileau against him.

Quinault was in his way much superior to Lulli*. He will be always read; and Lulli, excepting his recitative, will scarcely ever be sung any more. However, it was thought, in the time of Quinault, that he owed all his reputation † to Lulli. Time ascertains the true value of every thing.

He shared, in common with other great men, the bounty of Louis XIV. but it was a pittance. The greater liberality was bestowed on Lulli. He died in 1688.

N. B. There is a story in the *Literary Anecdotes*, that Boileau, being at the Opera-House at Versailles, said to the box-keeper, "Sir, place me where I cannot hear the words. I am fond of the music of Lulli, but have a sovereign contempt for the metre ‡ of Quinault."

It is not probable, however, that Boileau ever said so gross a thing. If they had restrained themselves to have made him say, "Place me where I can only hear the music," it had been enough; but it would have been, nevertheless, unjust. Lulli has been surpassed in every thing, except his Recitatives; but Quinault has never been equalled.

* Quinault wrote Operas, and Lulli composed the music to them.
Translator.

† Whose music was thought to have brought the Author's Poetry into vogue. *Ibid.*

‡ The word is *Musique* here, which I have taken the liberty of changing, in order to mark the distinction between the Poet and the Musician, which is confounded in the original. *Ibid.*

QUINCY (the Marquis de), Lieutenant-General, of the Artillery, and Author of *The Military History of Louis XIV.* He enters into minute details, which may be useful to those who would follow in their reading the operations of a campaign. These details may furnish examples, in cases exactly the same way circumstanced; but this is rarely met with, either in business or in war. The resemblances are always imperfect, and the differences always great. The conduct of war is like games of skill, which can only be learned by practice, and the days of action are often but games of chance.

QUINTINIE (John-la), born at Poitiers, in 1626. He taught the art of cultivating gardens, and of transplanting trees. His precepts have been followed by all Europe, and his talents were liberally rewarded by Louis XIV.

RACINE (John), born at La Ferté-Milon, in 1639. He was educated at Port-Royal. He wore the ecclesiastical habit when he wrote the Tragedy of *Theagenes*, which he dedicated to Molière, and that of *The Brother Enemies*, of which Molière had given him the subject. He is intituled Prior of Epinal, in the *Privilege du Roi* of his *Andromaché*.

Louis XIV. was sensible of his extraordinary merit. He appointed him one of his Gentlemen in Ordinary, named him sometimes of his parties to Marly, made him lie in his chamber in one of his illnesses, and heaped kindnesses upon him; notwithstanding which, poor Racine died of grief, or fear, at his having offended him. He was not so great a philosopher as he was a poet.

The world rendered him but tardy justice. "We have been affected (says St. Evremond) by Mariamne, by Sophonisba, by Alcione, by Andromache, and by Britannicus." Thus did they place not only the wretched Sophonisba of Corneille, but even the poor pieces of Alcione and of Mariamne by the side of his immortal master-pieces. The gold is confounded with the clay during the lives of the artists—it is death that separates them.

It is worthy of remark, that Racine having consulted Corneille upon his Tragedy of *Alexander*, Corneille advised him never to attempt the Buskin; assuring him, that he had not the least talent for such kind of composition.

We should not forget to mention here, that Racine wrote against the Jansenists, and afterwards turned Jansenist himself. He died in 1699.

RACINE (Louis), son to the immortal John Racine, followed the traces of his father, but in a path too narrow, and unworthy the Muses. He understood the mechanism of verse as well as his father, but possessed neither his genius nor his graces. He wanted both invention and imagination*.

He was a Jansenist as well as his father, and most of his verses were written for that sect. There are some good lines to be found in his Poem on Grace, and in that on Religion too; though this latter is too didactic and formal for poesy, and merely a transcript of *Pascal's Reflections*; but enlivened by some fine descriptions, such as those in the second Canto, in which he both translates and controverts Lucretius.

Cet esprit, ô mortels! qui vous rend si jaloux,
N'est qu'un feu qui s'allume & s'éteint avec vous.
Quand par d'affreux sillons l'implacable vieillesse
A sur un front hideux imprimé la tristesse,
Que dans un corps courbé sous un amas de jours,
Le sang comme à regret semble achever son cours;
Lorsqu'en des yeux couverts d'un lugubre nuage
Il n'entre des objets qu'une infidèle image;
Qu'en débris chaque jour le corps tombe & périt:
En ruïnes aussi je vois tomber l'esprit.
L'ame mourante alors, flambeau sans nourriture,
Jette par intervalle une lueur obscure.
Triste destin de l'homme! -il arrive au tombeau,
Plus faible, plus enfant qu'il ne l'est au berceau.

* The poets labours under such *mechanical* Poets, every day; who not being able to write good prose, shield their weakness under bad verse. Some great names may be ranked under the first part of the above description; though they deserve neither of the censures in the latter part. Sense and wit cannot make a Poet; they are but his body. Invention and imagination are his soul. *Translator.*

When

La mort du coup fatal frappe enfin l'édifice :
 Dans un dernier soupir achevant son supplice,
 Lorsque vuide de sang le cœur teste glacé,
 Son ame s'évapore, & tout l'homme est passé.

That soul, vain mortals, which ye rate so high,
 Connate with us is form'd to live and die.
 When loathsome wrinkles shall in time disgrace
 The florid hue of Youth's once jocund face ;
 When through decrepid limbs the blood's weak force
 With lingering labours to perform its course ;
 When eyes deep sunk are dimm'd by length of years,
 Through which each object faithlessly appears ;
 When such impairs betoken our decay,
 The soul responsive languishes away :
 For she, but nourish'd in the body's frame,
 Like lamps exhausted, yields a quivering flame.
 Hard fate of man ! whose lot is to be curst
 With second childhood ; sèebler than the first !
 Death strikes, at length, the nodding edifice,
 When soul and body perish in a trice :
 For when this vaunted soul breathes out its date,
 The compound Man becomes annihilate *.

He sometimes challenges, in this Poem, the
 "Whatever is, is right," of Shaftesbury and Boling-
 broke, so well put into verse by Pope.

Sans doute qu'à ces mots des bords de la Tamise,
 Quelque abstrait raisonneur qui ne se plaint de rien,
 Dans son flegme Anglican s'écriera, Tout est bien.

Without doubt, at these words, on the banks of the Thames,
 Some Stoic abstract, who concerns him at nought,
 With a true British phlegm, cries, *Things are as they ought.*

Racine, in quality of Jansenist, was of opinion that almost every thing has been wrong a long time. He accused Pope of irreligion. Pope was the son of a Papist, which is the denomination given to Roman Catholics in England. Pope, educated in that religion, which he sometimes turns into ridicule in his Epistles, would ne-

* M. Voltaire's turn of mind may be plainly seen by the piece he quotes from him. He did not chuse openly to support the opinion he here republishes, but takes care to drop it in your way, *en passant*, as if by accident. *Translator.*

ver, however, quit it, though he was philosopher, or rather because he was philosopher enough to think that it was of little consequence to change it.

Pope was much piqued at the accusations of Racine, and Ramsfey undertook to reconcile them. He was a Scotchman, of the clan of the Ramseys, of which he took the name, according to the custom of that country. He came into France, after having taken his degrees in Presbyterianism, Protestantism, and Quakerism, and attached himself to the illustrious Fenelon, whose life he has written. He was the author of *Cyrus*, a very feeble imitation of Tlemachus. He ventured to write a letter to Racine, under the name of Pope, in which he seems to vindicate himself.

I lived a whole year with Mr. Pope: I knew that he was incapable of writing in French, that he could hardly speak a sentence in our language, and perused our authors with great difficulty. This was publickly known in England. I therefore assured Racine that this letter was written by Ramsfey, and not by Pope. I was willing to shew him the ridiculousness of such a finesse. I also gave the story to the Public, in a chapter on Pope, which was reprinted often during the life of Pope himself.

However, after his death, Abbé L'Avocat printed this forged letter of Ramsfey's, and has imputed it to Pope in his *Portative-Historical Dictionary*, where he has also copied several articles from the first editions of this *Catalogue of Writers of the Age of Louis XIV.* into which he has inserted many anecdotes that are intirely false. It is but justice to advertise the Public of the truth.

RANCE (John de Bouthillier), born in 1626, began with translating *Anacreon*, and instituted the severe reform of La Trappe, in 1664. He exempted himself, as legislator, from the law which obliges those who are there buried alive, to be ignorant of all the affairs of this world. He wrote with elegance.

What inconstancy in human nature! After having founded and governed his institution, he resigned the super-

superintendency of it, and afterwards strove to regain it. He died in 1700.

RAPIN (René, or Renatus), born at Tours, in 1621. A Jesuit, known by the Poem of *The Gardens*, in Latin, and by several other literary works. He died in 1687.

RAPIN DE THOYRAS (Paul), born at Castres, in 1661, a refugee in England, and a long time an Officer there. England was for many years indebted to him for the only compleat good history ever compiled of that kingdom, and the only impartial one they had of a country where a spirit of party mixes itself with every thing. It was even the only history which could be named in Europe as any way approaching toward the perfection required in works of this kind, till there lately appeared one published by the celebrated Hume, who knew how to write history like a philosopher. He died at Wesel, in 1725.

REGIS (Sylvan), born at Agenois, in 1632. His philosophical writings have lost all their currency, from the great discoveries that have been made since. He died in 1707.

REGNARD (Francis), born at Paris, in 1647. His voyages alone would have rendered him famous. He was the first Frenchman who had ever travelled as far as Lapland. He graved upon a rock there, this verse :

Sistimus hic tandem nobis ubi desuit orbis.

He was taken captive on the sea, near Provence, by the Corsairs, and made a slave at Algiers; ransomed from thence, and established in France in the offices of Treasurer of the Kingdom, and Lieutenant of the Waters and the Forests. He lived both a voluptuary and a philosopher.

He was born with a lively genius, gay, and truly comic. His Comedy of *The Gamester* is ranked with those of Moliere. One must be very ignorant of the genius or talents of Authors, to imagine he had stolen this piece from Dufreni. He dedicated his Comedy of the *Menechmi*

rechmi to Despréaux, and afterwards wrote against him, because he thought Boileau did not do him justice.

This man, so gay in his life, died of chagrin, at the age of fifty-two. It was whispered also that he had precipitated his death, which happened in 1699.

REGNIER DESMARETS (Seraphim), born at Paris, in 1632. He has rendered great service to Letters, and is author of some French and Italian poetry. He made one of his Italian pieces pass for Petrarch's. He could not have passed his French verses, however, under the name of any great poet. He died in 1713.

RENAUDOT (Theophrastus), a physician, and very knowing in more things than one. He was the first publisher of Gazettes in France. He died in 1720.

RENAUDOT (Eusebius), born in 1646, very knowing in history, and well skilled in the Oriental languages. He ought to be reproached with having prevented the Dictionary of M. Bayle from being printed in France. He died in 1720:

REYNEAU (Charles), born in 1656. He was of the Oratory, and of the Academy of Sciences. He was author of the *Analysis demonstrated*, published in 1708. He was stiled the *Euclid* of the higher geometry. He died in 1728.

RICHELET (Cæsar-Peter), the first who ever published a dictionary chiefly satirical *; an example more dangerous than useful. He is also the first author of a dictionary in rhimes; a poor work, which only serves to shew how few good or rich rhimes there are in our poesy, and proves the great difficulty there is to write tolerable verse in the French language.

RICHELIEU (the Cardinal de). As Louis XIV. was born during his ministry, we ought to class among the writers of this illustrious Age the founder of the French Academy, and author himself of several works. He framed *The Method of Controversy*, during his exile at Avignon, after the assassination of the Marshals D'An-

* To which may be added, *obscenical* too. *Translator.*

cre and Galigai, his protectors. His *Principal Points of the Catholic Religion*, *Instructions for a Christian*, and *The Perfection of a Christian*, were written about the same time.

It is, however, certain, that he did not compose *The Perfection of a Christian* at the time that he had the Marshal of Marillac condemned to death in his own house at Ruel, and that he was with Marion de l'Orme in his apartment, when the Judges pronounced the sentence dictated by him.

There are several verses in his stile, in the allegorical Tragi-comedy intituled *Europa*, and in the Tragedy of *Miramis*. It is said that he gave to five different authors the subjects of pieces that were afterwards represented at the Cardinal's palace; and that he had done better only to have employed Corneille, and left the subject to his own choice. But the best of his works was the dike at Rochelle*.

The Abbé L'Avocat, Librarian of the Sorbonne, pretends, in his *Historical Dictionary*, that Cardinal Richelieu was author of the *Testament* which passes under his name. He thought it was becoming in him to pay some respect to the memory of the benefactor of the Sorbonne; but it was rendering a great disservice to his memory, to accuse him of having written a book in which there are faults of every kind. If, unhappily, a Minister of State could have been capable of composing so wretched a work, all that can be concluded from it is, that a man may be a great Minister, or rather, a successful one, with a perfect ignorance of the most common facts, liable to the grossest errors, and apt to form the most ridiculous projects. It is then to vindicate the memory of Cardinal Richelieu to demonstrate, as has already been done, that he could not be the author of this same *Testament*, which, without his name, would have never been taken notice of.

* He contrived a dike to stop up the harbour of Rochelle, then in possession of the Huguenots, which prevented their being relieved by sea, and enabled Louis XIII. to take the town. *Translator.*

The Abbé L'Avocat, though he was Librarian of the Sorbonne, is deceived in saying, that there was found in that library a manuscript of this work, with marginal notes, in the Cardinal's own hand-writing. The only manuscript so marked, is one among the collection of papers relative to foreign affairs, and which was not placed there till the year 1705. It is not the Testament that is so marked, but a succinct narrative, composed by the Abbé de Bourzeis, to which, a long time after, was added this surreptitious Testament; and the very marginal notes themselves, written by the hand of the Cardinal, prove that this succinct narrative was not his, as they point out the omissions of the Abbé de Bourzeis, which should be supplied. See the Answer to Mr. de Fonce-magne.

There has been attributed to Cardinal Richélieu, *A History of a Mother and her Son*. This is a recital, false in many particulars, of the unhappy disputes between Louis XIII. and his mother. This feeble and maimed history is probably written by Mezeray. But among the multitude of books with which the world is at present encumbered, what signifies it from what hand an indifferent one has proceeded? He died in 1642.

RIER (Andrew du), Gentleman in Ordinary of the Bedchamber to the King, was a long time employed at Constantinople, and in Egypt. He has left us a translation of the *Alcoran*, and of the *History of Persia*.

RIER (Peter du), born at Paris, in 1605. Secretary to the King, and Historiographer of France. He remained poor all his life, notwithstanding his appointments. He wrote nineteen dramatic pieces, and made thirteen translations, which were all of them well received in his time. He died in 1658.

ROCHEFOUCAULT (Francis Duke of), born in 1613. His Memoirs are read, and his Reflections are got by heart. He died in 1680*.

ROHAULT (James), born at Amiens, in 1620. He abridged and explained, with perspicuity and method,

* He was of the French School, as it may be filed—one of those libellers of mankind who admit no virtue in human nature. *Translator.*

the philosophy of Descartes. But at present that philosophy, erroneous almost in every thing, has no other merit, except that of being opposed to the errors of the Ancients. He died in 1675*.

ROLLIN (Charles), born at Paris, in 1661. He was Rector of the University, and the first of that Body who wrote French with purity and eloquence; though the latter volumes of his *Ancient History*, composed in too great haste by other hands, are not equal to the first part, because compilers are seldom eloquent, and Rollin was: they are, however, the best compilation that we have in any language.

His work would have been more valuable, if the author had been more of a philosopher. There are a great many ancient histories, but there are none which shew that philosophic spirit of investigation which distinguishes the true from the false, the probable from the improbable, and passes over every circumstance useless to information or reflection. He died in 1741.

ROTROU (John), born in 1609, the founder of the Theatre. The first Scene, and a part of the fourth Act, of his *Wenceslaus*, a Tragedy, are master-pieces. Corneille called him his father. But we know how much the son excelled the father. *Wenceslaus* was not composed till after the *Cid*. He died in 1650.

ROUSSEAU (John-Baptist), born at Paris, in 1650. Good verses, great faults, and long misfortunes, have rendered him famous. We must either impute to him the couplets which caused his banishment; couplets in the same stile with many others which he acknowledged, or brand the two Tribunals which decreed against him. Not but that two Tribunals, or even a more numerous body, might have unanimously committed as violent acts of injustice, where a spirit of party prevails; and there was a powerful party roused against Rousseau. Few men ever excited, or sustained, more enmity. The whole Public rose up against him till his banishment,

* He wrote also some philosophical works himself, which have merit. They are against substantial forms, against the attributing of souls to the brute creation, and against physical accidents.
Translator.

and even for some years after; but, at length, the success of La Motte, his rival, the reception he met with, his reputation, which was thought usurped, the arts he made use of to establish to himself a sort of sovereignty in literature, provoked all the men of letters to revolt against him, and reconciled them again to Rousseau, whom they stood in no awe of. They brought over most of the Public to his side. La Motte appeared to them too happy, because he was rich, and in favour. But they forgot that this man was blind, and labouring under disease. They considered Rousseau only as an unfortunate exile, without reflecting that it is a greater misfortune to be blind and diseased, than to live at Vienna or Brussels. They were both, in truth, very unhappy; the one by nature, and the other from the unlucky circumstance which occasioned his sentence; and both together serve to shew how much injustice there is in Mankind, how capricious they are in their judgments, and what folly it is to be over-anxious about their opinions. He died at Brussels, in 1740.

Rousseau had neither humour, nor grace, nor sentiment, nor invention, in any of his works. He could turn a stanza, or a loose epigram, tolerably well, but his epistles are written with an iron pen dipt in the most loathsome gall*. He calls the Mesdemoiselles Louvancourt, who were three lovely sisters, a *trio of fierce wolves*. He calls the Counsellor of State M. Rouillé, a *biting, snappish, clownish jack-pudding*, after having been profuse in his encomiums on him in a former very indifferent ode. The epithets of *rascals, scoundrels, &c.* tarnish his epistles. We should certainly maintain a spirited demeanour towards our enemies; but such scurrility as this, without the least wit or humour, shews the reverse of a noble soul.

As to the couplets which drove him into banishment, see the articles LA MOTTE and SAURIN..

It must be sufficient here to observe, that Rousseau having confessed he had written five of those unfortunate

* A strange metaphor. *Translator.*

couplets, was guilty of all the others, in the opinion of all his judges, and of all impartial men. His conduct after his condemnation is far from being any proof in his favour. There are letters yet extant from the Sieur Medine of Brussels, in one of which, dated May 7, 1737, are these words: "Rousseau had no other table
" but mine, no other asylum but my house; he kissed
" and embraced me a hundred times the very day that
" he pressed my creditors to arrest me."

Add to this a pilgrimage he went to Our Lady of Hall, and then judge whether his denial of the couplets is to be credited upon his own asseveration.

RUE (Charles de la), born in 1643. A Jesuit. A French and Latin poet, and a preacher. He was one of those who were employed upon the books intitled the *Dauphins**, for the education of Monseigneur. Virgil was the author that fell to his lot.

He wrote several Tragedies and Comédies. His Tragedy of *Sylla* was offered to the Theatre, but refused. He composed another, called *Lyfsmachus*. It is believed that he wrote great part of the *Adriana*. He lived in close intimacy with Baron, the actor, from whom he learned to declaim. There are two sermons of his that were much extolled; one called the *Dying Sinner*, and the other the *Dead Sinner*. It was advertised when he was to preach them. He died in 1725.

RUINART (Thierry), a Benedictine, who died in 1707. He was a laborious critic. He supported the argument against Dodwell †, that "the Church had, in its primitive times, a prodigious multitude of martyrs." Perhaps he did not sufficiently distinguish the martyrs from those who died according to the common fate of mortality; the persecutions on the score of religion, from those that arose from political motives. Be that as it will, he is reckoned among the learned men of his time.

It was principally in this age that the Benedictines made the most profound researches; as Martène upon

* An edition of the Classics noted *In Usum Delphini. Translater.*

† An English deistical writer. *Ibid.*

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

the ancient rites of the Church. Tuillier and many others also finished the raking out of the ashes the rubbish of the middle age. This was, besides, a new sort of study, which was peculiar to the Age of Louis XIV. and it was only in France that the Benedictines excelled in it.

SABLIÈRE (Antony de Rambouillet de la). His madrigals are written with an art which excludes not the natural. He died in 1680.

SACY LE MAÎTRE (Louis-Isaac), born in 1613. One of the good Writers of Port-Royal. *The Bible of Roysaumont* was his, and a *Translation of the Comedies of Terrence*. He died in 1684.

His brother, Antony le Maître, retired like him to Port-Royal. He had been a barrister, and was thought to be a man of great eloquence; but he was deemed so no longer after he had yielded to the vanity of printing his pleadings.

There was another Sacy, a lawyer, and of the French Academy, but of another family, who gave us a very good translation of *Pliny's Letters*, in 1701.

SAGE (Le), born in 1667. His novel of *Gil Blas* is still read, because it is written naturally. He died in 1747*.

SAINT-AULAIRE (Francis-Joseph de Beaupoil, Marquis of). It is a very singular thing, that the best verses which he has left us were written when he was above ninety years of age. He scarcely ever cultivated his talents for poetry till he was past sixty, like the Marquis de la Fare †.

Among the first verses that were known to be his, were the following, which had been before attributed to La Fare.

O Muse légère & facile,
Qui sur le côté d'Helicon
Vintes offrir au vieil Anacréon
Cet art charmant, cet art utile;
Qui fait rendre douce & tranquille
La plus incommode saison;

Vous

* He wrote also *The Bachelor of Salamanca*; *The Devil on two Sticks*, as *Le Diable Boiteux* is vilely translated; *New Adventures of Don Quixote*, &c. *Translator*.

† See the article under his name, in this catalogue of authors. *Ibid*.

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Vous qui de tant de fleurs sur le Parnasse écloses
Orniez à ses côtés les graces & le ris,
Et qui cachiez ses cheveux gris
Sous tant de couronnes de roses, &c.

Thou light and airy Muse so pleasing,
Who on the top of Helicon
Inspired the Old Anacreon
With love and revelry unceasing ;
Which thawed in ancient blood the frost,
Nor let an inch of life be lost.
Who culled the flow'rs from sweet Parnasse,
Before his mirth and graces strewn,
And chaplets on his head did place,
Nor let his silver locks be shewn, &c.

It was upon this piece that he was received into the Academy ; yet Boileau refused him his vote on this very account. He died in 1742, at near a hundred, some say a hundred and two.

One day, at the age of ninety-five, he supped with the Duchesse of Maine. She called him Apollo, and asked him to reveal to her some secret or other ; to which he replied, extempore,

La Divinité qui s'amuse
A me demander mon secret,
Si j'étais Apollon, ne ferait point ma Muse,
Elle ferait Thétis, & le jour finirait.

The Goddess who now strives to gain
A secret that I would retain ;
Were I Phœbus, I'd refuse
E'er to consecrate my Muse ;
As Thetis she should rule the sea,
And quick I'd close the lingering day.

Anacreon, when much younger, wrote many things not so pretty. If the Greeks had had writers among them equal to our good authors, they might have been still more vain, and we should applaud them now with yet more reason.

SAINTE-MARTHE. This family has been more than a century fertile in good Authors. The first, Charles

Charles de Sainte-Marthe, was eloquent, for his time. He died in 1555.

Scevola, nephew to Charles, distinguished himself both in letters and in public life. It was he that reduced Poitiers under the sovereignty of Henry IV. He died at Loudun, in 1623, and the famous Urban Grandier pronounced his funeral oration*.

Abel de Sainte-Marthe, his son, cultivated letters, like his father, and died in 1652. His son, named also Abel, pursued his paths. He died in 1706.

Scevola and Lewis de Sainte-Marthe, twin-brothers, sons of the first Scevola, and both buried in the same tomb, in Paris, at St. Severin's, were illustrious in Literature. They composed together the *Gallica Christiana*.

Denis de Sainte-Marthe, their brother, finished this work, and died at Paris, in 1725.

Peter Scevola de Sainte-Marthe, eldest brother to the last Scevola, was Historiographer of France, and died in 1690.

SAINT-EVREMOND (Charles), born in Normandy in 1613. A voluptuous moral, letters written to persons belonging to the Court at a time when the word Court was spoken with an emphasis by all the world, and some indifferent lines, which are called familiar verses, written in illustrious societies; all these, with a good share of wit, contributed to the reputation of his works.

A person named Des Maizeaux published them, with a life of the Author prefixed, which of itself is a large volume; and in this great folio there are not four interesting pages. It is only swelled with the same particulars that are to be found in the works of Saint Evremond. This is a piece of Booksellers' craft, and an abuse of the office of Editor. It is by such artifices that they have contrived to multiply volumes to infinity, without increasing knowledge.

His banishment, his philosophy, and his writings, are sufficiently known. When they asked him, on his

* He published several pieces of poetry; but his best work was one titled *Pædætophia, seu de Puerorum Educatione. Transl.*

death-bed, whether he would not *reconcile** himself? he answered, "I wish I could *reconcile* myself to a good appetite." He lies interred in Westminster-Abbey, among the Kings and illustrious Personages of England. He died in 1703.

SAINT PAVIN (Denis Sanguin de). He was one among those men of merit whom Despréaux confounded in his Satire with the bad Writers. The little we have of his is thought to be composed with taste and delicacy. His personal merit is shewn by the Epitaph made for him by Fieubet, the Master of Requests, one of the most polished Wits of the Age,

Sous ce tombeau git Saint-Pavin,
 Donne des larmes à sa fin.
 Tu fus de ses amis peut-être ?
 Pleure ton sort & le sien :
 Tu n'en fus pas ? pleure le tien,
 Passant, d'avoir manqué d'en être,

St. Pavin here is laid in dust ;
 Grieve for his death all Readers must ;
 For those who knew him lost a treasure,
 And those who did not missed a pleasure.

He died in 1670.

SAINT-PIERRE (Castel Abbé de), a Gentleman of Normandy, who, though he had but a moderate fortune, shared it for some time with the celebrated Varignon and Fontenelle. He was a great political writer. The best definition that could be given in general of his works, is what was said of them by Cardinal Du Bois, that "they were the dreams of a good Citizen."

He had the simplicity to repeat over and over again the most trivial maxims of morals; and from a similar simplicity, used to propose impossible things as practicable. He was forever insisting on the project of a perpetual peace, and of a sort of Parliament of Europe, which he called the European Diet †.

* A clerical expression for contrition, and making peace with one's conscience. *Translator.*

† On the model, I suppose, of the famous Council of the Amphyctions, in Ancient Greece, and which availed them not. *Ibid.*

A part of this same chimerical scheme was imputed to Henry IV.; and the Abbé de St. Pierre, the better to support his whimsey, pretended that this European Diet had been approved of and digested by the Dauphin Duke of Burgundy, and that the plan had been found among the papers of that Prince.

This fiction he suffered to pass, in order the better to recommend his project; although he honestly acknowledged the letter in which Cardinal Fleury replied to his proposition. "You have forgotten, Sir, one preliminary article in your scheme; the commencing with sending a sufficient corps of Missionaries to dispose the hearts and minds of the several Potentates in Europe to accept it."

However, the Abbé de Saint Pierre was a very useful man. He greatly contributed towards the delivering France from the tyranny of arbitrary taxation. He wrote, and otherwise exerted himself against it.

He was unanimously expelled from the French Academy, for having, under the Regency of the Duke of Orleans, preferred a little too uncouthly, in his *Polisy-nodia*, the establishment of Councils, to the manner of governing by Louis XIV. Protector of the Academy. It was Cardinal de Polignac who made interest to have him excluded, and carried his point. What is very extraordinary is, that at that very time the Cardinal de Polignac had conspired against the Regent; and that this Prince, who gave apartments in his Palace to Saint Pierre, and who had all his family in his service, suffered this exclusion to take place. The Abbé de Saint Pierre never complained of this injustice; but continued still to live, as a Philosopher, with those very persons who had voted against him.

Boyer, formerly Bishop of Mirepoix, his own fellow-student, prevented his elogy from being pronounced at his death, in the Academy, according to custom. Those fading flowers strewn over the grave of an Academician, add nothing either to his fame or merit; but the refusal of them was an insult; and the services which the Abbé
de Saint

de Saint Pierre had rendered to the world, with his integrity, and gentleness of manners, well deserved another sort of treatment.

He died in 1743, at the age of eighty-two. A few days before his death, I asked him what he thought about that event: to which he replied, "As of a journey into the country."

The most singular tract among his works, is on the future annihilation of Mahometanism. He says that a time will come, when reason will prevail among men over superstition. Mankind will then, says he, begin to comprehend, that resignation, decency, and good works, are sufficient to recommend us to God. 'Tis impossible, he goes on, that a book wherein false propositions are found to be given for true ones, absurdities are opposed to common sense, and praises bestowed upon unjust actions, could be a revelation derived from a perfect Being. He supposes that in about five hundred years the human understanding, even in the most illiterate, will view the Alcoran in its true light; that even the Grand Mufti himself, and the Cadis also, will be brought to reflect, that it must be their own interest to undeceive the world, and to render themselves more necessary and more respectable, in rendering religion more simple. This tract is curious.

In his annals of Louis XIV. he says, that the State ought to annex lodges to Bedlam for the reception of intolerant Theologians; and that it would be fair game to expose this species of wicked folly upon the stage.

SALLO (Denis), born in 1626. A Counsellor of the Parliament of Paris. He was the first projector of *Literary Journals*, which Bayle afterwards perfected; but which have been since disgraced by some similar works set on foot by several mercenary Booksellers, in imitation of them, and which a parcel of obscure Writers have stuffed with false extracts, insignificant articles, and heaps of lies.

In fine, it has at length obtained into a sort of trade of praises and censures, especially in the periodical *Reviews*;

views; and Literature has fallen into the greatest contempt by such infamous practices. He died in 1669.

SANDRAS DE COURTILS, born at Montargis, in 1644. His name is only inserted here to inform the French, but more especially foreigners, how little credit is to be given to all those false Memoirs which are generally printed in Holland. Courtils was one of the most culpable writers in this way. He overflowed Europe with fictions, under the title of Private Histories. It was a scandalous thing for a man who was a Captain in the Regiment of Champagne, to go into Holland, to sell a parcel of inventions as facts to the Bookfellers.

He and his imitators, who have composed so many libels against their own country, against good Princes who scorned to revenge it, and against private persons who could not, have deserved the execration of the Public.

He wrote *The Conquest of France since the Peace of Nimègue*, and *The Answer to the same book. The State of France under Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. The Conduct of Mars in the War with Holland. The Amorous Intrigues of the Great Alexander. The Amorous Intrigues of France. The Life of Turenne. The Life of Admiral Coligni. The Memoirs of Rochefort, of Artagnan, of Monbrun, of Vordac, and of the Marquis du Frêne*; as also, *The Political Testament of Colbert*, and various other works which have amused and deceived the ignorant.

He has been imitated by the Authors of those miserable pamphlets written against France, *The Gleaner, The Fault-finder*, &c. wretched productions, inspired by hunger, dictated by stupidity and a disposition to lying, and hardly read even by the scum of the people. He died at Paris in 1712.

SANLEQUE (Louis), a regular Canon, and a Poet that has written some tolerable verses. It was one of the effects of the Age of Louis XIV. to produce an infinite number of middling Poets, in whose writings some happy lines are to be found, which, however, are more owing to temporary circumstances than to any efforts of genius. He died in 1714.

SANSON (Nicholas), born at Abbeville, in 1600. The father of Geography before William de l'Isle. He died in 1667. He left two sons behind him, who inherited his merit.

SANTEUIL (John-Baptist), born at Paris, in 1600. He passed for an excellent Latin poet, if that could be, without being able to write a line of French verse. His Hymns are sung in our churches. As I never lived with Mecænas between Virgil and Horace, I cannot be able to pronounce whether these Hymns are so good as they are said to be; whether, for example, *Orbis redemptor nunc redemptus*, be not a puerile play on words. I own I am very doubtful about all modern Latin Poetry. He died in 1697.

SARRASIN (John-Francis), born near Caen, in 1605, has written agreeably, both in prose and verse. He died in 1655*.

SAVARY (James), born in 1622. The first who wrote on the subject of Commerce. He had been a long time himself a merchant. The Council consulted him upon the Ordonnance of 1670, and he drew up almost all the articles of it. The Dictionary of Commerce we have of his, and of his brother Philemon, Canon of St. Maur, was a work both useful and new. But such books are to be looked upon in the same light with the interests of Princes, which generally vary in less than half a century. The objects and the channels, the gains and the policies of commerce, are not now what they were in the days of Savary. He died in 1690.

SAUMAISE (Claudius), born in Burgundy, in 1588. He retired to Leyden, in order to enjoy his liberty. He was a man of very great erudition. It is said that Cardinal Richelieu offered him a pension of twelve thousand

* There is an affecting anecdote related of this person. He had some way displeased the Prince of Conti, to whom he had been private Secretary, and was dismissed his service. The grief for having offended his patron, not for the loss of his employ, so preyed upon his spirits, that he died soon of a broken heart. What is the reason that our sympathy is more strongly moved towards such an object, than to one broke on the wheel? *Translator.*

francs*, to return to France, on condition that he would write in favour of his Ministry, and also compose his life; but that Saumaïse loved his liberty too well, and hated him too much, whom he considered as the greatest enemy to that very liberty, to accept the offer.

The King of England, Charles II. employed him to compose *The Cry of the Royal Blood against the Parricides of Charles I.*; but the work did not answer the reputation of its author. Milton, author of a barbarous poem on the story of *Adam's Apple*, and the model of all the barbarous poems framed upon the histories of the Old Testament, answered Saumaïse; but refuted him as a fierce beast combats a savage. These two pieces of disgusting pedantry are fallen into oblivion; but the names of their authors have not yet perished. He died in 1653 †.

SAURIN (James), born at Nîmes, in 1677. He was reckoned the best preacher of the Reformed Churches. It was, however, objected to him, in common with his brotherhood, that he dealt too much in what was called the *refugée style*. "It is difficult," he might say, perhaps, "for those who have sacrificed their country to their religion, to be able to speak their language with purity," &c. but in his time the French tongue was not impured in Holland, as it is at present. Bayle had nothing of the *refugée style* in any of his writings. He offended not by a familiarity of expression, which sometimes sinks into vulgarity ‡.

The faults in the language of the Calvinist Preachers, arose from their copying the incorrect expressions of the

* The same as Livres, which were of the value of twenty-pence at that time. *Translator.*

† M. Voltaire seems to have understood Milton as little as he did Shakespeare, classing them both under the title of barbarous Poets. He was himself rather a man of talents and a lively imagination, than of taste or genius. I leave the critical Reader to note the distinction. He was not original in any thing; and his best things are but second-best. With regard to Milton, it satisfies me that Addison differed from him, *toto Parnasso*. See my Note under the article Perrault. *Transl.*

‡ This phrase is itself in the very style he is reprehending. I have therefore made use of it by way of exemplifying the passage. *Ibid.*

first reformers. Besides, most of them having been bred at Saumur, in Poitou, in Dauphiny, or in Languedoc, retained the vicious manner of speech of the Provincials.

They created for Saurin a place of Minister to the Noblesse at the Hague. He was a learned man, and addicted to pleasure. He died in 1730.

SAURIN (Joseph), born near Orange in 1659, of the Academy of Sciences. He was a kind of universal genius; but there remain to us of his works only some extracts from the *Journal de Savans*, some memoirs of mathematics, and his famous *Façon* against Rousseau*.

This prosecution, so unhappily memorable, brought him into note the remainder of his life, but served also to raise up against him the most infamous accusations. Rousseau, exiled to Switzerland, and knowing that his enemy had been Pastor of the Reformed Church at Bercher, in the Bailiwick of Yverdun, employed the most malignant assiduity to procure testimonies against him. It is necessary here to mention that Joseph Saurin, disgusted with his Ministry, and wholly occupied with philosophy and mathematics, had preferred France, his native country, the city of Paris, and the Academy of Sciences, to the village of Bercher. In order to effect this exchange, he was obliged to return again into the bosom of Mother Church, and he recanted accordingly in the year 1690. The Bishop of Meaux, Bossuet, thought he had converted a Parson, but he had only mended the small fortune of a philosopher. Saurin happened to return to Switzerland, several years after, to recover some effects of his wife, whom he had also persuaded to quit the reformed religion. The Magistrates ordered him to be arrested there, as an apostate Pastor, who had seduced his wife to apostatize also.

All this passed in 1712, after the unlucky prosecution of Rousseau; and Rousseau was at Soleure †, just

* See the articles LA MOTTE HOUDART and ROUSSEAU. *Transl.*

† Soleure or Solothurn, a town of Switzerland, in a Canton of the same name. We are to suppose this the place where Saurin was arrested. *Ibid.*

at that time; and it was then that the vilest libels were devised against Saurin. There were former crimes of a long standing charged upon him, which would have deserved hanging, had they been true; and they even produced an old letter, said to be his, in which he had himself made a confession of his crimes to a Pastor who was one of his friends. In fine, to compleat his ignominy, they had the cruel baseness to procure these imputations and this letter to be inserted in the Supplements of Bayle and of Moreri; a new method maliciously invented of posting a man throughout Europe; a shocking degradation of literature, to convert a Dictionary into a criminal registry; and to fally with culprit allegations those pages which ought to be sacred to the sciences.

Certainly this never was the design of the first authors of these Archives of Literature, which have been since disgraced by so many Appendixes, equally erroneous and contemptible. The art of writing has become, in many countries, a scandalous trade, in which a parcel of Booksellers, who can scarcely read themselves, traffic for lies, scandal, and other trash, at so much per sheet, with a set of mercenary scribblers, who have reduced literature to a level with the meanest professions. It should never be permitted, at least, to insert charges of a criminal nature into a Dictionary, and to assume the province of an accuser, without legal proofs for conviction.

I happened to have an opportunity myself of examining into these accusations against Joseph Saurin; I spoke to the Lord of the Village of Bercher, where Saurin had been Pastor; I made inquiry about him from all the family of that gentleman; and both he and every one of his connections and dependants not only assured me that they had never seen the letter imputed to Saurin, but expressed the warmest resentment against the scandalous abuse of him, which the Supplements to Bayle and Moreri had published to the world: and this just indignation, which they manifested
before

before me, ought to pass as his acquittal, in every ingenuous mind.

I have likewise in my possession the attestations of three Pastors, declaring the Letter charged upon Saurin to be a forgery, and that it was merely an effect of the invidious calumny that men of letters are too frequently apt to throw out against each other.

Joseph Saurin died in 1737, like an intrepid philosopher, who was sensible of the worthlessness of all the possessions in life, and full of the profoundest contempt for all those vain prejudices, those fruitless disputes, those erroneous opinions, which superadd a weight to the already numberless evils of human life.

Joseph Saurin has left a son behind him of real merit, author of the Tragedy of *Spartacus*, in which there are passages comparable to some of the best in Corneille.

SAUVEUR (Joseph), born at La Flèche in 1653. He taught himself the Elements of Geometry, without a tutor. He was one of the first who calculated the odds at the games of chance. He said, that whatever any one man can do in mathematics, any other might be capable of doing also. This maxim, however, is to be restricted to the practice or scientific part, and cannot extend to the inventive faculties. He had been dumb till he was seven years old. He died in 1716.

SCARRON (Paul), born in 1598, and son of a Privy-Counsellor. His Dramatic Pieces are rather Farces than Comedies. His *Virgil Travestie* was excusable only in a buffoon. His *Theatrical Novel* † is almost the sole work of his that readers of any taste can bear still to peruse; but they can only consider it as a lively, amusing, and middling performance. Boileau predicted this future character of it. He died in 1660.

SCUDERI, (George de) born at Havre-de-Grace in 1603. He was patronised by Cardinal Richelieu, and for some time balanced the reputation of Corneille. His name is more known than his works. He died in 1667.

* See the note at the end of the article of LA MOTTE Houdart.

† The French title is *Roman Comique*, which the ignorant Translator rendered literally, *Comical Romance*. *Translator.*

SCUDERI (Magdalen) was sister to George, and born at Havre in 1607; better known, at present, from some pretty verses which remain of her's, than by her great folio Romances of *Clelia* and of *Cyrus*.

Louis XIV. gave her a pension, and always distinguished her. She was the first person that obtained the prize of Eloquence founded by the Academy. She died in 1701.

SEGRAIS (John), born at Caën in 1625. Mademoiselle * used to call him *a sort of Genius*; but he was a real one, and a person of true erudition. He was obliged to quit the service of that Princess, for having opposed her marriage with the Count de Lauzun.

His *Elogies* and his *Translation of Virgil* were once held in esteem; but are never read now. It is remarkable, however, that part of the lines of the *Pharsalia* of Brebœuf are still remembered, and not one of the *Æneid* of Segrais; yet Boileau praised Segrais, and abused Brebœuf. He died in 1701 †.

SENAUT (John-Francis), born in 1601. General of the Oratory. A preacher, who was, in comparison with Father Bourdaloue, what Rotrou was, compared to Corneille. He is reckoned among the first restorers of eloquence, rather than one of the small number of those that were really eloquent themselves. He died in 1692.

SENEÇAY, first Valet-de-chambre to Maria-Theresa. A poet of a most singular imagination. His tale of *Kaïmac*, excepting a few passages, is a distinguished work. It is an example to shew that a story may be very well told in a different manner from *La Fontaine*.

It is remarkable that this piece, the best he ever wrote, is the only one that is not to be found in the collection of his writings. There are also, in his *Labours of Apollo*, many new and singular beauties.

SEVIGNE (Maria de Rabutin), born in 1626. Her Letters, filled with anecdotes, written with freedom, and in a style that both animates and paints, are the best

* *Mademoiselle de Montpensier*, styled *Mademoiselle* alone, by way of distinction, as the Dauphin is called *Monsieur*. *Translator*.

† See the note upon the article of LA FAYETTE. *Ibid*.

criticism * that can be made upon those studied epistles still aiming at wit, and yet more upon those framed ones, which would imitate the epistolary stile, in displaying false sentiments, and relating feigned stories to imaginary correspondents.

It is a pity, however, that she happened absolutely to have no manner of taste, that she could not do justice to Racine, and that she compared the Funeral Oration pronounced by Mascaron upon Turenne, to the great masterpiece of Flechier. She died in 1696.

SILVA, a Jew of Bourdeaux, and a celebrated Physician at Paris, wrote a book, much approved of, upon the article of Bleeding; but had a character superior to his writings. He was one of those Physicians whom Moliere neither could, nor dared, render ridiculous. He died about the year 1746.

SIMON (Richard), born in 1638, of the Oratory. He was an excellent critic. His *History of the Origin and Progress of the Ecclesiastical Revenues*; his *Critical History of the Old Testament*, &c. are read by all the learned. He died at Dieppe, in 1712.

SIRMOND (James), a Jesuit, born about the year 1559. He was one of the most learned and most amiable men of his time. One scarcely knows that he was Confessor to Louis XIII. because it was difficult to speak of him at all, in so difficult a situation. He was chosen by the Pope, preferably to all the Italian Literati, to compose the Preface to the Collection of the Councils. His numberless works were held in great esteem, but are very little read now. He died in 1651.

SIRMOND (John), nephew to the former. He was Historiographer of France, with the commission of Counsellor of State, which was generally annexed to that office. One of his principal works was the life of Cardinal Amboise, which he undertook, merely in order to prove that Minister inferior to Cardinal Richelieu, his

* By the word Criticism must be meant a standard or model, to compare other collections of familiar epistles with. The expression, however, is unwarrantable. *Translator.*

patron. He was one of the first members of the Academy. He died in 1649.

SORBIÈRES (Samuel), born in Dauphiné in 1610. One of those who have had the title of Historiographer of France. He had been an old friend of Pope Clement IX. before his exaltation, and receiving but slight tokens of that Pontiff's liberality afterwards, wrote him this billet: "Holy father, you only give ruffles to one who has no shirt." He had a smattering in various kinds of Sciences. He died in 1670.

SUZE (the Countess Henrietta de Coligni de la); celebrated in her time for her wit and poetry. She turned Catholic, merely because her husband was a Huguenot; and then separated from him; in order, as Queen Christina said, that she might never see his face again, either in this world or the next*. She died in 1673.

TALLEMANT (Francis), born at Rochelle in 1620. The second translator of Plutarch. He died in 1693.

TALLEMANT (Paul), born at Paris, in 1642. Although he was the grandson of the rich Montoron, and son of a Master of Requests who had possessed an estate of two hundred thousand livres a-year, of our present currency, he was left without any fortune. Colbert supported him, as he did other men of letters. He executed the principal part of the history of the King illustrated by medals. He died in 1712.

TALON (Omer), Attorney-General to the Parliament of Paris, has left us some useful memoirs, worthy of a good magistrate and a good citizen. His eloquence, however, was not that of the politest ages. He died in 1652.

TARTERON, a Jesuit. He translated the satires of Horace, of Juvenal, and of Persius; and suppressed the gross obscenities, with which it is strange that Juvenal, but more especially Horace, should have blotted their writings †. He thus rendered the perusal of these authors

* He had rendered her life miserable, through jealousy. He knew she had more wit than himself, and therefore suspected her of more wickedness. But vice is rather more congenial with folly. *Translator.*

† Voltaire had done well to have attended to so just a sentiment himself, in some of his novels. *Ibid.*

more decent to young people, for whose use he meant his labour; but the translation is not literal enough for this purpose. He has given the sense, indeed, but not the meaning of the words.

TERRASSON (Abbé), born in 1669. A philosopher, both during his life and at his death. There are some fine passages in his *Setbos* *. His translation of *Diodorus* is useful, but his critique upon *Homer* quite void of taste. He died in 1750.

THEVENOT (Melchizedec), Librarian to the King of France, and a celebrated writer of travels, was born at Paris in 1621; and had scarcely passed through his academical studies, when he discovered in himself a strong passion for visiting foreign countries. However, he traversed only part of Europe himself, but was indefatigable in procuring particular information and memoirs from those who had frequented other parts; and from these he composed his *Travels into the Levant*.

When he had the care of the King's Library, though it was one of the best furnished then in Europe, he found it deficient in above two thousand volumes which he had in his own, and supplied it, besides printed books, with a number of choice manuscripts. Though he spent most of his time among books, yet he found leisure to execute two honourable employs; for he assisted at the conclave held after the death of Pope Innocent X. and was the French Envoy at Genoa. He died in 1692 †.

THIERS (John-Baptist), born at Chartres in 1641. He composed several Dissertations. It was he that wrote against the inscription affixed to the Convent of the Cordeliers at Rheims, "To God, and to St. Francis, both crucified." He died in 1703.

THOMASSIN (Louis), of the Oratory, born in Provence in 1619. A man of profound erudition. He was the first who wrote comments on the Fathers, on the

* A political and moral romance, full of learning and philosophy. *Translator*.

† I was surprised to find this article passed by in Voltaire, in the midst of so many more inconsiderable ones; I have therefore taken the liberty of supplying it in its place. *Ibid.*

Councils,

Councils, and on History. His memory failed him toward the latter end of life; he forgot every thing he had known, and recollected not even that he had ever written a line. He died in 1695.

THOYNARD (Nicholas), born at Orleans, in 1629. It is said that he had a great share in the Treatise of Cardinal Norris upon the *Syrian Epochs*. His *Concordance of the four Evangelists*, in Greek, was esteemed a curious work. He was only a mere man of learning; but he was profoundly so. He died in 1706.

TORCY (John-Baptist Colbert de), nephew to the great Colbert, Minister of State under Louis XIV. has left us some memoirs from the peace of Ryswick to that of Utrecht. They were printed while the first edition of this *Essay on the Age of Louis XIV.* was in the press, and they confirm every thing that is here advanced.

These memoirs contain some details, indeed, which are valuable only to those who would be thoroughly informed; but they are written with greater purity than all the memoirs of his predecessors. In them is to be found the true taste of Louis XIVth's Court. But their chief merit lies in the sincerity of the author. Truth and Moderation have always guided his pen. He died in 1746.

TOUREIL (James), born at Toulouse, in 1656. He was celebrated for his translation of *Demosthenes*. He died in 1715.

TOURNEFORT (Joseph Pitton de), born in Provence, in 1656. He was the greatest Botanist of his time. He was sent by Louis XIV. into Spain, England, Holland, Greece, and Asia, to compleat his Natural History. He culled out thirteen hundred and thirty-six new species of plants, and taught us to know and distinguish our own. He died in 1708.

Le TOURNEUX, born in 1640. His *Christian Year* is in many hands, though inserted at Rome in the Index of prohibited books, or rather for that very reason*. He died in 1686.

* A strange perverseness this in human nature! But true it is, that the surest way of having a book read, is not to recommend, but to forbid, it. *Translator.*

TRISTAN, the Hermit, Gentleman to Gaston of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII. The great and long success that his Tragedy of *Mariamne* was in possession of, was an effect of the ignorance of the times. They had nothing better in its kind; and when the reputation of that piece was established, it was the work of more than one Tragedy of Corneille's, to sink it into oblivion. There are still some nations subsisting, among whom very middling compositions pass for master-pieces of writing, because they have no Geniuses to surpass them.

It is not generally known that Tristan turned the Office of the Virgin into verse; nor is it strange that it should be so. He died in 1655.

His epitaph, written by himself, is as follows:

Je fis le chien couchant auprès d'un grand seigneur.

Je me vis toujours pauvre, & tâchai de paraître;

Je vécus dans la peine, espérant le bonheur,

Et mourut sur un coffre en attendant mon maître.*

TURBINE. This great man has left us some memoirs, which are to be met with in his life, written by Ramsey. We have many memoirs of our Generals; but they are not all written like those of Xenophon or Cæsar.

VAILLANT (John Foy), born at Beauvais, in 1632. The Public owes him *The Science of Medals*, and the King the half of his Cabinet. The Minister Colbert sent him to travel into Italy, Greece, Egypt, Turkey, and Persia. He was taken by the Corsairs of Algiers, in 1674, in company with the Architect Desgodets. The King ransomed them both. No learned man ever suffered so many dangers. He died in 1706.

VAILLANT (John Francis), born at Rome, in 1665, while his father was on his travels. He was an Antiquary as well as he. He died in 1708.

* These lines are not worth translating, especially as they do not apply to any part of the story or character of the author, in the above article. *Translator.*

† When the Pirates took the vessel he was in, he swallowed twenty of the choicest Medals he had about him, in a hurry, and physicked them out again, at his leisure. *Ibid.*

VALINCOURT (John-Baptist-Henry du Trouffet de), born in 1653. An epistle which Despreaux addressed to him, formed the greatest part of his reputation. He has left us some trifling works. He was a good scholar; but he made a great fortune, which he could never have done, had he been merely a man of letters. Literature alone, without that active sagacity which renders a person useful in the world, procures nothing but a life of distress and contempt *.

One of the best discourses ever pronounced at the Academy, is one in which Mr. de Valincourt endeavours to cure the error of that infinite number of young people, who, mistaking the passion of scribbling for a talent of writing †, address their miserable verses to Princes, deluge the press with their pamphlets, and then accuse the Age of ingratitude, or neglect, merely because they are no way useful to the world, or to themselves. He therein assures them, that the lowest professions are much superior to that which they have adopted. He died in 1730.

VALOIS (Adrian), born at Paris, in 1607. Historiographer of France. His best works are his *Account of the Gauls*, and his *History of the first Race*. He died in 1692.

VALOIS (Henry), brother to the former, born in 1603. His writings are less useful to France than those of his brother. He died in 1676.

VARIGNON (Peter), born at Caën, in 1654. A famous Mathematician. He died in 1722.

VARILLAS (Anthony), born in the Marche, in 1624. An Historian more agreeable than exact †. He died in 1696.

LE VASSOR (Michael), of the Oratory. He was a refugee in England. His *History of Louis XIII.* though diffuse, heavy, and satirical, has been in request on account of many singular facts related in it. But he is

* Or, at best, but cold applause! *Translator.*

† Mistaking, as Pope says, a strong inclination for a genius. *Ibid.*

‡ M. Voltaire's own character. *Ibid.*

a tiresome declaimer, who in the History of Louis XIII. labours to decry Louis XIV. and attacks both the living and the dead. He is mistaken only in a few facts, but appears to be wrong in all his judgments. He died in 1718.

VAVASSEUR, born in the Charolois, in 1605. A Jesuit, and a great scholar. He was the first who shewed that neither the Greeks or Romans were acquainted with the burlesque stile, which is only a relick of barbarism. He died in 1681.

VAUBAN (the Marshal de) born in 1633. His *Real Tithe* * was an idea which it was impossible to carry into execution, and indeed was a most impracticable scheme. He has, however, left us several memoirs worthy of so good a member of the state. He died in 1707.

VAUGELAS (Claudius Favre de), born at Chamberry, in 1585. He was one of the first that purged and methodized the French language, and of those who were capable of writing poetry in Italian, without being able to do the same in French. He retouched, from time to time, his translation of *Quintus Curtius*, for thirty years. Every person who would write well, should correct his works during his life. He died in 1650.

LE VAYER (Francis, born at Paris, in 1588. He was preceptor to Monsieur, brother to Louis XIV. and instructed the King himself for the space of a year. He was Historiographer of France, Counsellor of State, a great Pyrrhonist, and publicly known for such: however, this sceptic character prevented not his being intrusted with so considerable a charge.

* This I suppose to be a modus of ascertaining the exact tenth value of the produce of the land, payable to the Church, or the Lords of the Manors. But is it not a thing extraordinary, that Voltaire should only mention this person in the character of a common essayist, who had distinguished himself both by his practice and writings as the greatest engineer of the age; which services had raised him to the first military honours, and obtained him the rank of Marshal? *Translator.*

There is a great deal of science and reason to be met with in his works, though they are too diffusely written. He was the first who argued with success against the opinion which becomes us so little, that our morals are better than those of the Ancients.

His Treatise *On the Virtue of the Heathens*, is in esteem among the learned. His motto was,

De las cosas mas seguras,
La mas segura es dudar;

In all the cases thought most clear,
To doubt the safest will be found ;

like that of Montagne, *What do I know?* He died in 1672.

VEISSIERES (Mathurin de la Croze) born at Nantes, in 1661. A Benedictine of Paris. His freedom of thinking, and his being a Prior, which forbade such a liberty, made him quit both his Order and his religion. He was a living library, and his memory was a prodigy.

Besides the many useful and agreeable things he was master of, he had studied others that lay out of the course of general literature ; as the ancient language of the Egyptians, for instance. He wrote a work much esteemed, intitled, *The Christianity of India*. What is most curious in it is, that the Bramins believed in the Unity of the Godhead themselves, though still leaving the people in the possession of their idols.

The rage of scribbling is such, that they have written a Life of this private man, in a volume as large as that of Alexander. This short extract, which appears yet too long, might have sufficed. He died at Berlin, in 1739.

VERGIER (James) born at Paris, in 1675. He was with regard to La Fontaine, what Campistron was in comparison of Racine, a natural but feeble imitator. He was murdered by some robbers, in 1720. They have given us to understand, in the Dictionary of Moreri,

eri, that he had written a lampoon against a certain powerful Prince, who had him assassinated. The story is false.

VERTOT (René Aubert), born in Normandy, in 1655. An elegant and agreeable historian*. He died in 1735.

VICHART DE SAINT-REAL (Cæsar), born at Chanteberry, but educated in France. His *History of the Conspiracy of Venice*, is a master-piece †. His *Life of Christ* is a very different performance. He died in 1692.

VILLARS DE MONFAUCON (the Abbé de), born in 1635, and famous for his *Count de Gabalis*. 'Tis a part of the ancient Mythology of the Persians. The author was killed, in 1673, by a pistol-shot. It was said that the Sylphs had assassinated him, for having revealed their mysteries.

VILLARS (the Marshal Duke de), born in 1652. The first volume of the *Memoirs* which bear his name, was written by himself. He could repeat all the best passages of Corneille, of Racine, and of Molière. I heard him, one day, say to a certain famous Minister of State, who appeared surpris'd at his remembering so many verses of Plays, "I have not *ask'd* so often as you, "but I know more of the matter." He died in 1734.

VILLEDIEU (Madame de). Her *Romances* brought her into reputation. I do not mean, however, to stamp a value upon all the *Novels* with which France has been, and still continues to be, overwhelmed; they have been all, except *Zaide* †, the productions of feeble Geniuses, who possess a facility of writing things unworthy to be read by persons of common sense. They are, for the most part,

* The province of history which he chose, was the revolutions of states. 'Tis the most useful, as well as the most interesting and entertaining part. *Translator*.

† Otway has written a play on it... *Ibid*.

‡ I think he might have justly added, *The Princess of Cleves*, by the same author. See the article LA FAYETTE. *Ibid*.

devoid even of imagination; and four pages of Ariosto contain more fancy in them than can be met with in all those insipid pieces which impure the taste of young people. She died in 1683.

VILLIERS (Peter), born at Coignac, in 1648. A Jesuit. He cultivated letters, as in general most of that Order do. His sermons, and his poem on the Art of Preaching, had some reputation in his time. His stanzas upon solitude are much superior to those of St. Amant, which were once so greatly esteemed; but are not at present deemed worthy of an Age which so far excels that of St. Amant. He died in 1728.

VOITURE (Vincent), born at Amiens, in 1598. He was the first in France who obtained the title of *un bel esprit*. He had little more than that sort of merit in his writings, upon which one might form a taste; but this merit was at that time very rare.

We have some very pretty verses of his, but only few in number. Those he wrote for the Queen, Anne of Austria, and which they have not printed in his collection, are an example of the gallant freedom which was privileged at the Court of that Princess, whose mildness and goodness were worn-out with the Frondeurs.

Je pensais si le Cardinal,
J'entens celui de la Valette,
Pouvait voir l'éclat sans égal,
Dans lequel maintenant vous êtes * ;
J'entens celui de la beauté ;
Car auprès je n'estime guère,
Cela soit dit sans vous déplaire,
Tout l'éclat de la Majesté.

* It was then the usage to strike off the final letters of a verse, if they happened to interfere with the measure, or the rhyme; as *vous êtes*, for *vous êtes*, in the above instance. The English and Italians make free with the same *poetica licentia*. The French poetry is too much straitened, and was formerly rather too prosaic.—
Voltaire.

I doubt me if the Cardinal,
 I mean his eminence Valette,
 Can see your eminence o'er all
 That on a throne was ever set.
 The rank I hint at is your beauty,
 All other pomps or titles near,
 (Forgive, if I offend in duty,)
 Mean and contemptible appear †.

He wrote both Italian and Spanish verses too with success. He died in 1648.

It is of no consequence to extend this Catalogue further: there are comprized in it a small number of great Geniuses, a pretty large list of Imitators, and we might have given a much longer catalogue of the Learned. It will be rare, for the future, to see new Geniuses rise up, unless other manners, and another sort of government, should give a new turn to the minds of men. It will be impossible to see men of universal knowledge, because every science is now become unbounded; so that each student must confine himself to the cultivation of a small portion of that vast field which the Age of Louis XIV. had broke up.

* The thought in these lines is borrowed from the Ancients; and not from the Poets, but the Philosophers; one of whom calls beauty *natural empire*, and another files it *royalty without force*. M. Voltaire should have told us upon what occasion this address was written, or to what circumstance, relative to Valette, it alluded. He is too summary a writer. *Translator*.

CELEBRATED ARTISTS.

MUSICIANS.

THE French music, at least the vocal, has not hitherto been of the same taste with that of any other nation : nor could it be so, because the French prosody is different from that of all Europe. We always rest upon the last syllable, and all the other nations lean upon the penultima, or ante-penultima, as well as the Italians. Our language is the only one which has words terminating in *e* mute ; and these *e*'s, which are not pronounced in reading, or in common speech, are marked in the accompanied recitative, and this in an uniform manner ; as *glor-ieu, victor-ieu, barbari-eu, furi-eu, &c.* This renders the major part of our songs, and our recitative, insupportable to those who have not been used to it.

Our climate also refuses that lightness to the voice, which the Italian skies afford it ; nor have we the custom that is practised in Rome, and other States of Italy, to deprive men of their manhood, in order to render their voices finer than those of women *. All this, joined to the slowness of our singing, which makes a strange contrast with the vivacity of our manners, must ever be the cause that French music can be relished by the French alone.

However, notwithstanding these reasons, foreigners, who have resided for some time in France, confess that our musical composers have shewn considerable address, in accommodating their airs to our words, and that this musical manner of pronunciation is often a happy ex-

* It must be so ; for, with an equal sweetness, their superior strength gives them an advantage. *Translator.*

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

pression; but then it is so only for ears accustomed to it, and requires a most perfect execution.

Our instrumental music is also a little infected with the monotony and slowness which are objected to our vocal music: but many of our symphonies, and above all our dancing tunes, have been better received in other nations. They are performed in many Italian Operas; and there are scarcely any other used at a certain King's Theatre, who has established the best Opera in Europe, and who, among his other singular talents, has most assiduously cultivated that of music*.

JOHN-BAPTIST LULLI, born at Florence, in 1633, brought into France at fourteen years old, and then only a performer on the violin, was the father of true music in France. He knew how to accommodate his art to the genius of the language, which was the only way to succeed. It is remarkable, that at that time the Italian music preserved pretty much of the same gravity, and that noble simplicity, which we still admire in the recitatives of Lulli.

Nothing can more resemble those recitatives than the famous Motet † of Luigi, sung in Italy with so much success in the seventeenth century, and which begins thus:

Sunt breves mundi rosæ,
Sunt fugitivi flores,
Frondes veluti annosæ,
Sunt labiles honores.

The rose's scent is brief,
The flowers soon decay;
And like the autumn leaf,
Earth's glories fade away.

It should be observed, that in this music of meer declamation, which is the *mélodéc* || of the Ancients, it must be principally the natural beauty of the words that produces the beauty of the chaunt. We cannot well

* The King of Prussia. *Translator.*

† The word is *Mottetto*, in Italian, and signifies any piece of Church music. *Ibid.*

|| *Mélodéc*, accompanied recitative. *Ibid.*

declaim

declaim what does not deserve it. This is a point on which they were much mistaken in the days of Quinault and Lulli. Poets were jealous of the Poet, but envied not the Musician. Boileau objected to Quinault,

Ces lieux communs de morale lubrique,
Que Lulli réchauffa des sons de sa musique.

The common-place of lascivious morals,
Which *Lulli* heightened by his chorals.

The tender passions that Quinault so well expressed, were under his pen a portrait of the human heart, rather than a *lascivious moral* †. Quinault, by his diction, heightened the music more than the art of Lulli elevated his poesy. It required these two great men, and capable Actors, to render some scenes of *Alys*, of *Armida*, and of *Roland*, an exhibition such as neither ancient nor modern times had ever enjoyed. Unconnected *Airs*, or light *Sonnets*, are not to be put in comparison with such noble scenes. Those detached *Airs*, or familiar *Songs*, in the stile of our Christmas Carols, or the Venetian Ballads, were all the taste at that time. The slihter the music, the more easily it was retained in the memory. But the Recitative was so fine, that Rameau has not been able to equal it. "I want *Singers*," he often says; but Lulli needed only *Actors*. Rameau tickles the ears, but Lulli charmed the soul. It was one of the happinesses of the æra of Louis XIV. that Lulli and Quinault were cotermporaries. He died in 1687.

After Lulli, all the Musicians, as Colasse, Campra, Detouches, and the rest, have been only his imitators, till at last Rameau has appeared, who has risen above them all by the richness of his harmony, and has rendered Music almost a new art.

With regard to our Church Musicians, though there are many famous ones in France, their compositions have not yet been performed in other countries.

† However, Quinault himself was not so very indulgent to his muse, as Voltaire seems to be; for it is said, that, in his more serious moments, he repented him often of the too *lascivious morals* of some of his pieces. *Translator*.

P A I N T E R S.

IT is not with a Painter, as it is with a Musician. A Nation may have a species of Music which may please none but itself, because the genius of the language may admit of no other; but Painters should represent nature, which is the same in all countries, and is seen with the same eyes.

A Painter, to have a good reputation, should have his pictures bear a price among foreigners. It is not sufficient that he has got a few flatterers about him, or is commended in News-paper paragraphs or complimentary verses. His pieces must be bought.

What often contracts the genius of Painters, is what should seem to enlarge it. It is the academical taste, the manner they are apt to copy from those who preside: Academies are certainly very useful institutions for forming pupils, especially if the Directors work in the great stile themselves. But if the President has a confined taste; if his manner be dry or hard; if the figures are disproportioned; if the pictures are painted like fan-mounts; the scholars, being curbed by imitation, or the desire of pleasing a bad master, lose intirely all idea of real nature.

There is a kind of fatality attending all Academies. Not one piece that is called academical, has ever yet been reckoned a work of genius. Shew me a man fearful of not being able to catch the manner of his cotemporaries, and you will find his productions to be formal and constrained. Shew me another of a free spirit, fond of the nature that he copies, and you will acknowledge his success. Almost all the great Artists have either flourished before the establishment of Academies, or have employed their
their

their pencils in a different taste from that which reigned in such societies.

Corneille, Racine, Despréaux*, and the Painter Le Moine, not only took a different path from their contemporaries, but had them all for their enemies.

NICHOLAS POUSSIN, born at Anderley, in Normandy, in the year 1599, was the pupil of his own genius, but perfected himself at Rome. He was stiled the Painter of *Men of Wit*; and might also have been stiled that of *Men of Taste*. He had no other fault, except his aggravating the dark shadings of the Italian School.

He was in his time the greatest Painter in Europe. Being invited from Rome to Paris, he fell a victim to envy and party, which made him quit his country. This misfortune has happened to more than one Artist. Pouffin returned back again to Rome, where he lived poor, but contented. His philosophy raised him above fortune. He died in 1665.

EUSTACHIUS LE SUEUR, born at Paris, in 1617, having no other master than *Vouet*, became, however, an excellent Painter. He had carried his art to the highest degree, when he died, at the age of thirty-eight, in 1655.

BOURDON and LE VALENTIN were also famous. The three best paintings that adorn the Church of St. Peter, at Rome, are those of Pouffin, of Bourdon, and of Valentin.

CHARLES LE BRUN, born at Paris, in 1619. He had scarcely distinguished his talent, when the Superintendent Fouquet, one of the most liberal and the most unfortunate men that ever lived, granted him a pension of twenty-four thousand livres, of the present currency.

It is remarkable that his picture of *Darius's Family*, which is at Versailles, is not disgraced by the colouring of that of Paul Veronese, which hangs opposite to

* One might suppose from this passage, that Corneille, Racine, and Despréaux, were all Painters. But this is Voltaire's manner of writing. He just hints, *en passant*, that servile imitation is as great a disadvantage in poetry, as in painting. *Translator.*

it; and surpasses it much, in the design, the composition, the dignity, the expression, and the fidelity of the *Costume* *. The prints or impressions taken from his paintings of Alexander's battles, are more in request than those of the battles of Constantine by Raphael and by Julio Romano. He died in 1690.

PETER MIGNARD, born at Troyes, in Champagne, in 1610, was the rival of Le Brun for some time; but posterity do not see him in that light. He died in 1695.

CLAUDIUS GEELE, called CLAUDE LORRAIN. His father, who bound him apprentice to a pastry-cook, did not foresee that his son would one day become one of the first Landscape-painters in Europe. He died at Rome, in 1678.

CASE. There are some pictures of his that begin to bear a high price. They render justice too late, in France, to good artists. Their middling performances do too much injury to their master-pieces. The Italians, on the contrary, excuse the middling, on account of the excellent ones. Every other nation endeavours to extol their own country; but the French seem to prefer foreigners, in every thing.

JOSEPH PAROSSEL, born in 1648, was a good Painter, but surpassed by his son. He died in 1704.

JOHN JOUVENET, born at Rouen, in 1644, a pupil to Le Brun, but inferior to his master, though a good Painter. All his pieces have a yellow cast in them. He saw every thing in this light, from a singular conformation of his organs of sight †. He died in 1717.

JOHN-BAPTIST SANTERRE. He painted several admirable easel-pieces ‡, of a colouring just and tender.

* An attention to the different customs of times and places, which a Painter should observe in his pictures. *Translator.*

† It is more natural, I think, to impute this circumstance to the accidental humours of his body, than to the peculiarity of his visual faculty. * People affected with the jaundice, see every thing of a yellow complexion. *Ibid.*

‡ Pictures to be set in frames, in contradistinction to *al fresco*, or ceiling paintings. *Ibid.*

His picture of Adam and Eve is the most beautiful piece of painting in Europe. That of St. Theresa, in the Chapel of Versailles, is a master-piece of grace; and all that can be objected to it, is its being too voluptuous an object for an altar.

LA FOSSE distinguished himself by a merit pretty nearly of the same kind.

BON BOULOGNE was an excellent Painter. The best proof of it is, that his pictures sell very dear.

LOUIS BOULOGNE. His paintings, which are not without their merit, are less esteemed, however, than those of his brother.

RAOUS, an unequal Painter; but in his best pieces he has equalled Rembrandt.

RIGAULT. Although he had little reputation in any thing but Portrait-painting, the large picture in which he represents Cardinal Bouillon opening the Holy Year, is a *chef-d'œuvre* equal to the best works of Rubens.

DE TROYE painted in the taste of Rigaut. His son drew some history-pieces that are much esteemed.

WATTEAU was in the beautiful, very nearly what Teniers was in the grotesque. He formed scholars whose pictures are in request.

LE MOINE has, perhaps, surpassed all these Painters, by the composition of the Saloon of Hercules, at Versailles. That apotheosis was a piece of flattery designed to please Cardinal Hercules de Fleury, who had nothing in common with the fabulous hero but his name. It had been better, in the gallery of a King of France, to have represented an apotheosis of Henry IV.

Le Moine, envied by his brother-artists, and thinking himself not sufficiently recompensed by the Cardinal, destroyed himself, in despair, in 1737.

Some others have excelled in painting animals, as DESPORTES and OUDRY; others have succeeded in Miniature, and a great number in Portrait, painting. Some artists, and particularly the famous VANLO, distinguish themselves, at this day, in greater works; so that it is to be hoped this art will not be lost among us.

Of SCULPTORS, ARCHITECTS, ENGRAVERS, &c.

SCULPTURE was carried up to its perfection under Louis XIV. and sustained itself in its full merit under Louis XV.

JAMES SARRATIN, born in 1598, executed master-pieces at Rome, for Pope Clement VIII. and worked afterwards at Paris with the same success. He died in 1660.

PETER PUGET, born in 1662, an Architect, Painter, and Sculptor; famous for several works that may be seen both at Marfeilles and at Versailles. He died in 1695.

LE GROS and THEODON have embellished Italy with their works. Each of them made at Rome two Models, which bore away the prize from all their competitors, and are reckoned among the *chefs-d'œuvres*. Le Gros died at Rome, in 1719.

FRANCIS GIRARDON, born in 1627, has equalled all that has come down to us of the works of Antiquity, by his Baths of Apollo, and his Monument of Cardinal Richelieu. He died in 1715.

The COISEVAUX and the COUSTOUX, with many others, distinguished themselves at that time, but have been much surpassed since, by four or five of our modern Sculptors.

CHAUVEAU, NANTEUIL, MEULAN, AUDRAN, HEDELING, LE CLERC, DREVET, POILLY, PICART, and DUCHANGE, succeeded also by better artists, have excelled in the engraving of Copper-plates; and their prints
are

are placed in the cabinets of those who cannot afford the expence of Paintings.

Some mere Goldsmiths, such as **BALIN** and **GERMAIN**, have deserved to be ranked among the most celebrated Artists; from the beauty of their designs, and the elegance of their workmanship.

It is not so easy for a genius born with a fine taste in Architecture, to exhibit his talents, as it is to all other artists. He cannot raise noble monuments of his skill, except when Princes order them to be erected. More than one Architect has possessed talents that were useless to himself and the world.

FRANCIS MANSARD was one of the best Architects in Europe. The Castle, or rather the Palace of **Maisons**, near **St. Germain's**, is a master-piece, because he was left intirely at liberty to indulge his own genius in the edifice.

JULIUS-HARDOUIN MANSARD, his nephew, acquired an immense fortune under **Louis XIV.** and was Superintendant of the buildings. The fine Chapel of the Invalids is executed by him. He could not display all his talents on that of **Versailles**, where he was cramped by the ground.

It has been remarked of the City of **Paris**, that it has only two fountains in a good taste; the old one of **John Gougeon**, and the new one of **Bouchardon**; and even these are very ill placed. It has likewise been objected, that it has no other magnificent Theatre but that of the **Louvre**, which is never made use of; that audiences are forced to assemble in Play-houses built without taste, proportion, or ornament, and equally defective in the situations, as in the construction; while such a number of country-towns afford them examples of which they have not yet benefited.

But France has been distinguished by other public works of much greater importance; by her vast Hospitals; her Magazines; her magnificent Bridges; her Quays; her immense Mounds to restrain the rivers within their channels; her Canals; her Sluices; her Ports; and, above all, by the Military Architecture of so many frontier-places, where

where solidity is joined to beauty. Every one knows the works raised upon the designs of PERRAULT, of LEVAU, and of DORBAY.

The art of Gardening was created and perfected by LE NOTRE, for Pleasure-Grounds; and by LA QUINTINIE, for the Fruit and Kitchen Gardens. It is not true, that La Notre carried his simplicity so far as familiarly to embrace the King and the Pope. His pupil, Collinau, assured me, that those anecdotes, repeated in so many Dictionaries, were false; but indeed one need not such a testimony to be assured that an Overseer of Gardens could not use the freedom of kissing Kings and Popes on *both sides their ears* *.

The engraving in precious stones; the Dies for Medals; the casting of types for Printing; all these are signs of the rapid progress of the other Arts.

The Clock and Watch-makers, who may be considered as a sort of practical Natural Philosophers, have given cause to admire the ingenuity of their workmanship.

They have shaded their silks, and even the gold which is worked up with them, with an art and taste so curious, that though they are only worn for sumptuous apparel, they deserve to be treasured up as the monuments of skill and industry.

They began to make China-ware at St. Cloud, before they attempted it in any other part of Europe.

In short, the last Age has put it in the power of the present to collect into one body, and to transmit to posterity, the deposit of all the Arts and of all the Sciences, carried as far as human industry could extend them; in which work a society of ingenious men, endowed both with capacity and learning, have jointly laboured †.

This extensive and immortal undertaking seems to accuse the shortness of human life. It was commenced by

* Kissing first one cheek, then the other, as is said in these Dictionary Memoirs. *Translator*

† The French Encyclopædia. *Ibid.*

Messieurs D'ALEMBERT and DIDEROT, thwarted and persecuted by envy and ignorance. This is the fate of all great enterprizes. It were to be wished that some foreign compilers had not disgraced this important work by puerile declamations, and common-place insipidities; which, however, are not capable of preventing the original part of it from being serviceable to the world.



composed all our poetry; and Rabelais was our only book in prose, that was current at the time of Henry II.

In a word, Italy alone was in possession of every art and science, excepting music, which had not then been brought to any perfection, and experimental philosophy, equally unknown, every where; and which Galileo afterwards introduced to the world.

The fourth age is that which is named the Age of Louis XIV. and is, perhaps, the one of the four that approaches the nearest to perfection. Enriched with the discoveries of the three former, it excelled, in certain things, the three others put together. None of the arts, it must be confessed, were carried farther, than under the Medicis, the Augustus's, and the Alexanders'; but the human understanding became much more enlightened: True philosophy was not known till that time; and it is but justice to say, that commencing from the last year of Cardinal Richelieu, and proceeding to those which immediately succeeded the death of Louis XIV. there came to pass, in our arts, in our minds, in our manners, as well as in our government, a general revolution, which ought to serve as an eternal mark of the true glory of our country. This happy influence did not even confine itself to France; it extended also to England, and excited an emulation which that profound and ingenious nation then stood in need of; it inspired a taste in Germany, and introduced the sciences into Russia; it even re-animated Italy, which had begun to languish, and all Europe is indebted for its politeness and its social spirit, to the Court of Louis XIV.*

* What a declamation, and thoroughly French! It puts one in mind of a dancing-master in some play, who, when Miss *Leir's* elopes with her lover, imputes the indiscretion entirely to her *not having learned to dance. Rediunt Saturnia regna.* France gave the *ton* to all Europe! Louis failed in his scheme of universal monarchy.—Marlborough and he differed in that point; but Voltaire, to make him amends, has given him an universal empire over the arts, sciences and literature. Was it Descartes that instructed Newton? Was it Boileau who inspired Milton? And did not Shakespeare and Bacon precede *Le Siècle de Louis Quatorze*?

Voltaire speaks here in prose, almost with as much hyperbole, as

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

It is not pretended, that these four ages were exempt from misfortunes or from crimes. The perfection of arts, cultivated by private and peaceable individuals, could not prevent Princes from being ambitious, the people from falling into sedition, or the priests and monks from being sometimes turbulent and knavish. All ages were alike, with regard to the wickedness of men; but I know only of these four eras distinguished by persons of extraordinary talents.

Before the age which I stile that of Louis XIV. and which commenced about the time that the French Academy was established, the Italians denominated all the *Ultramontanes* * barbarians; and it must be confessed, that then the French merited, in a great measure, this character. Their forefathers joined the romantic chivalry of the Moors, to the Gothic grossness of manners; and had among them scarcely any of the polite arts; which proves, that the useful ones were neglected: for when a people have provided what is necessary, the next thing they think of, is the elegancies and superfluities of life. And it is not to be wondered at, that painting, sculpture, poetry, eloquence, or philosophy, were almost unknown to a nation, which having ports on the Ocean and the Mediterranean, had, however, no fleet; and who indulged themselves in luxury to excess, without having even the coarsest manufactures fabricated in their country.

Montaigne does in verse, where he addresses Racine, on his being appointed historiographer to Louis XIV.

*On nous promet l'histoire, & c'est un haut projet.
J'attends beaucoup de l'art, beaucoup plus du sujet.
Il est riche, il est vaste, il est plein de noblesse;
Il me feroit trembler pour Rome, & pour la Grece.*

This history is, indeed, a noble object.
Much from thy art is hoped, more from the subject.
A theme so rich, so great, so full of glory!
I tremble for the Greek and Roman story.

* The countries on the other side the Alps; France, Germany, &c. they learned this from Greece too, who stiled all nations but their own so.

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

The Jews, the Genoese, the Venetians, the Portuguese, the Flemings, the Hollanders, and the English, by turns carried on the commerce of France, which was ignorant of the very principles of it. Louis XIII. at his accession to the throne, was not master of a single vessel; Paris did not contain quite four hundred thousand souls, and was not decorated with above four handsome edifices, the other towns of the kingdom resembling those villages that are situated on the other side the Loire. The noblesse, garrisoned throughout the country in castles, or towers, surrounded by moats, oppressed the tillers of the soil. The high-ways were almost impassable, the cities without police, the state without money, and the government most generally without credit among other nations.

One must not dissemble, that since the decline of the Charlemagne family, France has languished, more or less, in the same decay, because she had hardly ever the advantage of a good government.

It is necessary, in order to render a state powerful, either that the people should enjoy a freedom founded on laws, or that the sovereign authority should be absolute, or without controul. In France, the people in general were slaves, till about the time of Philip Augustus; the nobility tyrants, till Louis XI.; and the Kings, always occupied in maintaining their authority against their vassals, were never at leisure enough to consider about the prosperity of their subjects, nor the power to render them happy.

Louis XI. enlarged the prerogative royal considerably, but did nothing for the felicity or glory of the nation*. Francis I. gave rise to commerce, to navigation, to letters, and all the arts; but his life was too unfortunate to make them strike root in France, and they all died away with him. Henry the Great was endeavouring to rescue France from the calamities and barbarism into which thirty years of discord had plunged her, when he

* Louis XI. as a French Historian expresses himself, *fut le premier qui mit les rois hors de page.*

was assassinated in the capital, amidst the very people whose welfare he was exerting himself about. Cardinal Richelieu, wholly occupied in lowering the House of Austria, in abolishing the Calvinists, and reducing the power of the nobles, did not possess a power peaceable enough to reform the nation; but he commenced, however, this happy work.

So that during an interval of nine hundred years, the genius of the French was cramped under a Gothic government, in the midst of divisions and civil wars, having neither laws nor customs established, and changing from age to age a language always barbarous; the nobles without education addicting themselves, by turns, to war and idleness; the clergy living in disorder and ignorance; and the people without industry, crouching under their misery.

The French bore no part, either in the great discoveries, or in the happy inventions of other nations. Printing, gunpowder, glass, the telescope, the sector, the air-pump, the true system of the Universe, were no property of theirs. They employed themselves in tilts and tournaments, while the Spaniards and Portuguese were discovering and conquering the Eastern and Western worlds. Charles V. had rendered the treasures of Mexico current in Europe, before the subjects of Francis I. had discovered the barren country of Canada. But even from the little that the French did, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, one may be able to judge what they are naturally capable of, under proper auspices.

We purpose now to shew what they were, under Louis XIV.

It must not be expected to meet with here, any more than in the history of the preceding times, tedious details of wars, of sieges, of towns taken and recovered by arms, surrendered and restored again by treaties. A thousand circumstances which might have been interesting to cotemporaries, become of no consequence to posterity, and are entirely lost in the contemplation of the great events which have decided the fate of Empires.

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It is not every fact that has happened, which deserves to be recorded. We shall, therefore, in the following history, only have regard to what may merit the attention of all times, to what may delineate the genius and the manners of men, to whatever may serve for instruction, and recommend the love of virtue, of the arts, and of our country.

We shall first shew what France and the other States of Europe were, before the birth of Louis XIV.; after which the great events, both political and military, of his reign, shall be then described. The interior government of the kingdom, the most important object to the people, shall be treated of separately. The private life of Louis XIV. the particulars of his Court, and of his reign, will occupy a large space in this work. Other parts shall be appropriated to the arts, the sciences, and to the progress of the human mind in this age. We shall finally speak of the Church, which has been so long connected with the state, which sometimes disturbs, and sometimes strengthens it; and which, though instituted for the instruction of morals, is too often impured by politics and human passions.

C H A P. II.

The States of Europe before Louis XIV.

CH R I S T I A N Europe, all except Russia, might for a long time have been considered as a sort of great Republic, divided into several States, some monarchical, and others mixt. Of the latter, some were aristocratical, and others popular; but all connected with one another; all professing the same system of religion, tho' divided into several sects; all acknowledging the same principles of public justice and policies, unknown to the other nations of the world:

'Tis from these principles that the European nations do not make slaves of their prisoners taken in war; that they respect the ambassadors of their enemies; that they

have agreed among themselves about the pre-eminence and the rights of certain princes, as the Emperor, the Kings, and other lesser potentates; and above all, that they have confederated together in that sound policy of preserving among the States, as far as possibly they can; an even balance of power; assiduously employing negotiations, even in the midst of war; exchanging ambassadors with one another, or pensioning spies in a less honourable station, who may advise all the Courts of the projects of any particular one, give at the same time the alarm to Europe, and defend the weaker States from the invasions which the stronger are too generally apt to undertake.

Since Charles V. the balance leaned towards the House of Austria. This powerful family were, about the year 1630, mistress of Spain, of Portugal, and the treasures of America; the Low Countries, the Milanese, the Kingdom of Naples, Bohemia, Hungary; even Germany, (if one may say so) were become their patrimony; and if so many States had been united under any single prince of this family, it must be acknowledged that all the rest of Europe must have submitted to his empire.

Of G E R M A N Y.

THE German Empire is the most powerful neighbour of France. It is more extensive, and though less rich, perhaps, in money, it is far more fruitful in hardy and athletic men, who patiently endure the yoke of labour. The German Nation is governed, pretty nearly, as France was formerly by the first Kings of the Capet race, who were Chiefs often ill obeyed, by several of their great, and also many of their inferior vassals. At present, sixty Free Towns, which are called Imperial ones; about as many secular Sovereigns; near forty Ecclesiastical Princes; be they Bishops or Abbots; nine Electors, among whom may now be reckoned four Kings; and in fine the Emperor, Chief of all these Potentates; form this great Germanic body, which has been preserved unto these days, through the phlegmatic

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tic temper of the Germans, with almost as much regularity, as there was, formerly, confusion in the French government.

Each member of the Empire has his rights, his privileges, and his duties; and the laborious knowledge of so many laws, which are often contested, is what is called, in Germany, the *Study of the Laws of Nations*, for which that nation is so famous.

The Emperor himself is not, in reality, richer or more powerful than a Doge of Venice. It is well known that Germany, being divided into Free Towns and Principalities, can afford nothing to the Chief of all these petty States, except a pre-eminence, with vast honours, indeed, but without dominions, without money, and consequently without power. To the title of Emperor, there is not annexed one single village. Nevertheless this dignity, often as vain as it is void, became so powerful in the hands of the Austrians, that it was much feared they would convert this Republic of Princes, into an absolute Monarchy.

Two parties then divided, and still divide, the Christian World, particularly Germany. The first is that of the Catholics, more or less obedient to the Pope. The second is that of the enemies to that spiritual and temporal authority claimed by the Pope and the Catholic Prelates. These latter are distinguished by the general name of Protestants, though they are divided into Lutherans, Calvinists, and other appellations, that hate one another as cordially as they do Rome.

Germany, Saxony, a part of Brandenburg, the Palatinate, part of Bohemia, of Hungary, the States of the House of Brunswick, Wirtenburgh, and Hesse, follow the Lutheran Religion, which they stile Evangelical. All the Free Imperial Towns have likewise embraced this sect, which appears to be better fitted than the Catholic Religion, to people jealous of their Liberty.

The Calvinists, that are dispersed among the more powerful Lutherans, form but a very inconsiderable party. The Catholics comprehend the rest of the Empire,

pire, and having the House of Austria at their head, were, without doubt, of the most importance.

Not only Germany, but all the Christian States still bleed with the wounds they received in so many religious wars; a rage peculiar to Christians, unknown to Infidels, and the unhappy consequence of that dogmatic spirit, so long introduced into all ranks and conditions. There are few points of controversy that have not occasioned a civil war; and it must be a matter of wonder to foreign nations, perhaps to our own posterity, that our forefathers should have continued to slaughter one another, for so many years, while they were preaching the doctrine of patience.

I have already shewn how Ferdinand II. * was near changing the German Aristocracy into an absolute Monarchy, and how he was as near being dethroned by Gustavus Adolphus. His son Ferdinand III. who inherited his politics, and who like him made war in his closet, reigned during the minority of Louis XIV.

Germany was not at that time so flourishing as it is become since; luxury was there unknown, and the conveniencies of life were then very rare, even among the Great. They were not introduced till towards the year 1686, by the French refugees who went thither to establish their manufactures. This populous and fertile country wanted both commerce and money. The gravity of their manners, and the slowness peculiar to the Germans, deprived them of those refinements and pleasing arts, which the sagacity of the Italians had long since cultivated, and which the industry of the French from that time endeavoured to bring to perfection.

The Germans, though rich at home, were poor every where else; and that poverty, joined to the difficulty of reuniting, in a short time, so many different people under the same standards, rendered them as they are at present, incapable of carrying a war, and supporting it for any

* See the Essay on General History, addressed to Madame the Marchioness of Chatelet.

length of time, into any of the neighbouring countries. But the French generally make the Empire itself the seat of war against the Emperors. The difference in the government and genius of the people, seems to render the French fitter for attack, and the Germans for defence.

Of SPAIN.

SPAIN, governed by the eldest branch of the House of Austria, spread more terror after the death of Charles V. than the German nation. The Kings of Spain were incomparably more rich and more absolute. The mines of Mexico and Potosi seemed to furnish them with means to purchase the Liberty of Europe. Every one has heard of the scheme for a monarchy, or rather for an universal superiority, over our Christian continent, which was formed by Charles V. and pursued by Philip II.

The Spanish grandeur, under the reign of Philip III. was but a vast body, without substance, which had greater repute, than strength.

Philip IV. who inherited his father's weakness, lost Portugal by his negligence, Roussillon by the weakness of his arms, and Catalonia by an abuse of despotic power. Such Kings could not long be successful, in their wars with France. If the divisions and faults of their enemy gave them some advantage, they lost the fruits of them, by their incapacity. Besides, the privileges of the people they ruled over, gave them a right to be refractory. The Castillians had the prerogative of not fighting out of their own country; the Arragonians were continually disputing their freedom with the Royal Council; and the Catalonians, who considered their Kings as their greatest enemies, would not suffer them even to raise recruits in their provinces.

However, Spain, united with the Empire, threw a tremendous weight into the Balance of Europe.

THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

OF PORTUGAL.

PORTUGAL, at that time, became again a kingdom. John Duke of Braganza, who was reckoned a very weak prince, wrested that province from a King far weaker than himself. The Portuguese, from necessity, cultivated the commerce which Spain, from pride, neglected. They became leagued with France and Holland, in 1641, against Spain. This revolution in Portugal was of more importance to France, than the most signal victories would have been. The French Minister, who had not in the least contributed to this event, reaped from it, without any trouble, the greatest advantage that can possibly be had over an enemy, that of seeing him attacked by an irreconcilable competitor.

Portugal, throwing off the yoke of Spain, spreading its commerce, and increasing its power, recalls here the sea of Holland, which enjoyed the same advantages, though in a very different manner.

Of the UNITED PROVINCES.

THIS little State of the Seven United Provinces, a country fertile in pasture, but sterile in grain, unhealthy, and almost drowned by the sea, was, for about half a century, a singular example in the world, of what can be effected by the love of liberty, and indefatigable labour. These people, poor, few in numbers, less trained to war than the lowest of the Spanish militia, and who were yet thought nothing of in Europe, resisted all the forces of their master and tyrant, Philip II; eluded the designs of several Princes, who would have assisted, only to enslave them; and have established a sway, which they have been able to balance the power of Spain itself. That desperateness, which tyranny naturally provokes, first made them have recourse to arms; Liberty inspired their courage, and the Princes of the House of Orange made them excellent soldiers. Hardly had they subdued their masters, when they established a form of govern-

government, which preserves, as far as it is possible, an equality in the State, the most natural right of mankind.

This State, of so new a species, was, from its foundation; closely attached to France; they were united by one interest; their enemies were common to both. Henry the Great and Louis XIII. have been its allies, and its protectors *.

OF ENGLAND.

ENGLAND, much more powerful, affected the sovereignty of the sea, and pretended to hold a balance between the Powers of Europe; but Charles I. who reigned since 1625, unable to support the weight of that balance, felt the sceptre already slip from his hand. He wished to render his authority in England independent of the laws, and to alter the religion in Scotland. Too obstinate to desist from his designs, but yet too weak to execute them; a good husband, father, master, and an honest man, but an ill advised Prince; he engaged in a civil war, in which he lost, as we have already said, the throne, and his life also, on a scaffold, by a revolution almost unparalleled.

This civil war, begun during the minority of Louis XIV. prevented England, for a time, from engaging in the interest of her neighbours: she lost her importance with her good fortune; her commerce was interrupted; and the nations around her believed her sunk beneath her ruins, when on a sudden she became more formidable than ever, under the dominion of Cromwell, who enslaved her by carrying the gospel in one hand, and the sword in the other, and the mask of religion on his face, and who in his government concealed the crimes of an Ufurper, under the talents of an able King.

* Pray why forget Queen Elizabeth?

OF R O M E.

THAT balance which England had long flattered herself to maintain, between the Potentates of Europe, by her power, the Court of Rome endeavoured to support by her policy. Italy was divided, as it is now, into several Sovereignties. That which belongs to the Pope, is sufficiently extensive to make him respectable as a *Prince*, but too inconsiderable to render him formidable as a *Potentate*.

The nature of that government does not contribute towards the peopling of his country, which is also deficient both in money and commerce; his spiritual authority, in which there is always a little of the temporal mixed, is equally abolished and abhorred by one-half of Christendom; and if by the other half he is looked up to as a father, he has children who sometimes oppose his authority, both with reason and success. It is the maxim of France to consider him as a sacred person, but too assuming, whose feet they ought always to kiss, but sometimes bind his hands.

We may yet trace, in all the Catholic countries, the steps which the Court of Rome had formerly taken towards universal monarchy. All the Princes of that religion, on their accession, send embassies of *obedience*, as they are stiled, to the Pope. Each Crown has a Cardinal in Rome, who takes the title of Protector. The Pope grants Bulls for all the bishoprics, and expresses himself in them as if his power alone conferred those dignities. All the Italian, Spanish, and Flemish bishops, call themselves so, by the Divine permission and by that of the Holy See. Many of the French prelates, about the year 1682, rejected this formula, which was unknown in the first age; and in our days, in 1754, we have seen a bishop * courageous enough to omit it in a mandate, which ought to be transmitted to posterity; a mandate, or rather a singular precept, wherein

* Stuart Fitzjames, Bishop of Soissons.

is expressly declared, what no Pontiff had ever yet dared to say, that all men, nay even infidels, are alike our brethren.

In fine, the Pope has preserved, in all the Catholic States, prerogatives which he could, certainly, never have maintained, if prescription had not given them a sanction. There is not a Kingdom in which there are not several benefices in his gift; and as a tribute he receives the revenues of the first year of all Consistorial livings.

The Monks, of whom the principal ones reside at Rome, are so many immediate subjects of the Popes, dispersed through all the States. Custom, which is all in all, and which causes the world to be ruled by prejudice, as much as by laws, would not permit the Princes intirely to remedy an evil, which was otherwise connected with things useful and holy. To swear allegiance to any one but one's sovereign, is high treason in a layman; but in the cloister, it is an act of religion. The difficulty of knowing how far one should obey this foreign sovereign; the easiness of letting one's self be carried away; the pleasure of shaking off a natural yoke to take up another of one's own choosing; the spirit of sedition, and the unhappiness of the times, have but too often reduced whole orders of Monks to serve Rome, against their own countries.

The enlightened spirit which has reigned in France, during this latter century, and which has extended itself through almost all ranks of life, has been the most effectual remedy for such a superstition. The many excellent books that have been written on this subject, have rendered material services, both to the Kings and to the people: and one of the happy changes which has, by this means, been made in our morals, under Louis XIV. is, that the Clergy all agree in thinking that they are first subjects to the King, before they are servants to the Pope. But jurisdiction, that essential mark of sovereignty, still rests with the Roman Pontiff. Even France, notwithstanding all the exemptions of the Gallican Church, suffers still an appeal to be made to the Pope, as the last resource in ecclesiastical causes.

If one wanted to dissolve a marriage, to marry a cousin, or a niece; to be absolved from one's vows, it is still to the Pope, and not to the bishop, that the application is to be made; the indulgences are there rated, and the individuals of every nation there purchase their dispensations at extravagant prices.

These impositions, which are considered by many people as the consequences of the most absurd prejudices, and by others, as the remains of the most sacred rights, are still most artfully preserved. Rome manages her policy with as much address, as the Roman Republic made use of to conquer half the world then known.

No Court ever knew better how to conduct itself, according to persons and times. The Popes are generally Italians, grown grey in the service of the Church; without passions to blind their understanding. Their Council is composed of Cardinals; who resemble them, and who are all animated with the same spirit. From this Council are instructions sent forth which extend even to China and America. In this manner does it bear sway throughout the globe; and one might often have said of it, what a foreigner once did of the Roman senate, "I have seen a Consistory of Kings."

The most part of our Writers have very properly risen up with indignation against the ambition of this Court; but I know not any, who have done sufficient justice to its policy. I am doubtful whether any other nation could have preserved so many disputed prerogatives, for so long a time in Europe: any other Court would, probably, have lost them, either by insolence, or tameness; by remissness or precipitation; but Rome; always accommodating her measures, either of firmness or flexibility, according as circumstances have required, has contrived to preserve to herself every thing that, humanly speaking, it was in her power to keep.

She has been seen groveling under Charles V. formidable to Henry III. King of France; friend and enemy, by turns, to Henry IV.; subtle with Louis XIII.; openly opposing Louis XIV. even at the time when he was most to be feared; and often the secret enemy of the
Emperors,

Emperors, whom she was more apprehensive of, than of the Grand Seignior.

Some rights, much pretensions, patience, and policy, are all that now remain to Rome, of its ancient dignity; who, six centuries ago, attempted to subject the Empire, and all Europe, to the Triple Crown. Naples is yet a subsisting testimony of that right which the Popes arrogated formerly to themselves, with so much artifice and presumption, of creating and bestowing Kingdoms. But the King of Spain, to whom that State belongs, now only leaves to the Court of Rome the honour and the danger of having a too powerful vassal.

As for the rest, the Papal State enjoyed a perfect peace, interrupted only by the little warfare which I have already spoken of*, between the two Cardinal Barberinis, Nephews to Pope Urban VIII. and the Duke of Parma.

Of the REMAINDER of ITALY.

THE other Provinces of Italy attended to various interests. Venice feared both the Turks and the Emperor; with much difficulty she defended her Terra Firma States from the claims of Germany, and the invasions of the Grand Seignior. She was no longer that Venice which was formerly known to be the Mistress of the World of Commerce, and which, an hundred and fifty years before, had excited the envy of so many Kings. The wisdom of her government still subsisted, but her commerce being destroyed, deprived her of almost all her power; and the City of Venice was, from its situation, secured from being conquered, and, from its weakness, incapable of conquering.

The State of Florence enjoyed both peace and plenty, under the government of the Medicis'. Those arts, letters, and elegancies of life, which the Medicis' first gave rise to, still flourished; and Tuscany was then in Italy, what Athens had been in Greece. Savoy, torn

* See the *Essay on General History*.

to pieces by a civil war, and harrassed by the French and Spanish troops, at length became altogether united in favour of France; and in Italy, contributed much to weaken the Austrian power.

The Swiss preserved their freedom, as they still do, without endeavouring to oppress others. They hired out their troops to their neighbours who were richer than themselves; they were poor; they were unacquainted with all those arts and sciences which Luxury has created; but they were wise and happy.

Of the NORTHERN STATES.

THE Nations of the North of Europe, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, were, like the other Powers, for ever in distrust, or at war, with one another. In Poland, the manners and government of the Goths and Franks reigned, as they do still there; an elective King, his power divided by the Nobles, an enslaved People, a weak infantry, a cavalry composed of the Nobles, not one fortified town, and hardly any commerce. This people were sometimes attacked by the Swedes, or by the Muscovites, and sometimes by the Turks. The Swedes, a nation much freer in its constitution, which admits even Peasants to be members of their public councils, but who were then more obedient to their Kings than Poland, were almost every where crowned with victory. Denmark, which was formerly the terror of Sweden, was no longer formidable to any nation, and her real greatness only began under the two Kings Frederic III. and IV. Muscovy was yet but a barbarous nation.

Of the TURKS.

THE Turks were not then what they had been under the Selims, the Mahometers, and the Solimans; their effeminacy had corrupted the Seraglio, without banishing cruelty from thence. The Sultans were at once
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the most despotic sovereigns in their Seraglio, and the least secure of their throne, or their lives: Osman and Ibrahim both died by the bow-string, and Mustapha had been twice deposed.

The Turkish Empire, weakened by these shocks, was also attacked by the Persians; but as soon as it was relieved from that enemy, and the revolutions of the Seraglio were at an end, the Empire became once more a formidable enemy to Christendom. For from the mouth of the Boristhenes, even to the States of Venice, Muscovy, Hungary, Greece, and the Islands, have by turns fallen a prey to the Turkish arms: and from the year 1644, they persevered in the war of Candia, which was so fatal to the Christian States. Such were the condition, the power, and interests, of the principal nations in Europe, about the time of the death of Louis XIII. King of France.

The SITUATION of FRANCE.

FRANCE being allied to Sweden, Holland, Savoy, and Portugal, and having the good wishes of other inactive nations, supported, against Spain and the Empire, a war destructive to both parties, and of fatal consequence to the House of Austria. That war was like all those which have been carried on for so many ages between the Christian Princes, in which millions of lives are sacrificed, and provinces destroyed, to gain after all some little frontier towns, which are seldom worth the price of the conquest.

The Generals of Louis XIII. conquered Roussillon, and the Catalonians had just submitted to the dominion of France, as the protectress of that liberty which they defended against their Kings; but these successes did not prevent their enemies from taking Corbie, in 1637, nor from approaching even to Pontoise. Fear had driven half the inhabitants from Paris; and Cardinal Richelieu, in the midst of his great projects for humbling the Austrian power, was reduced to the necessity of taxing

all the Court-Yards in Paris *, to oblige each to provide a foot-soldier for the war, and to repel the enemy at the very gates of the capital.

The French had done much damage to the Spaniards and the Germans, and had sustained as much from them, in turn.

The STRENGTH of FRANCE after the DEATH of LOUIS XIII. and the MANNERS of those TIMES.

THESE wars produced many illustrious Generals; such as a Gustavus-Adolphus, a Wallstein, a Duke de Weimar, Piccolomini, John de Wert, the Marshal Guébriant, the Princes of Orange, and the Count D'Harcourt. The Ministers of State were not less distinguished. The Chancellor Oxenstiern, the Duke d'Olivares, &c. but particularly Cardinal Richelieu, attracted the notice of all Europe. There is not any age in which some statesmen and warriors have not rendered their names famous. It seems, unfortunately, that politics and arms are the professions most natural to man. We must for ever fight or negotiate. The most fortunate man passes for the greatest, and the Public often impute that success to merit, which is only the effect of fortune.

War was not then carried on as we have since seen it, in the reign of Louis XIV. Their armies were not then so numerous. Since the siege of Metz *, by Charles V. there had not been seen a General at the head of fifty thousand men. They besieged and defended places with fewer cannon than in these days. The art of fortification was yet in its infancy. Pikes and arquebuses † were then in use; and the sword was at that time the principal weapon, which is rendered almost useless, in the present discipline. They still preserved the ancient law of na-

* This Tax was imposed upon every house in the city that had a Court Yard, or Gate-way, belonging to it, in order that it should fall only on the rich or great

† A Town in France.

‡ Short hand-guns.

tions, of declaring war by an Herald. Louis XIII. was the last who observed that custom: he sent a Herald at arms to Bruffels, to declare war against Spain, in 1635.

Nothing was then more common than to see Priests at the head of armies. The Cardinal Infant, the Cardinal of Savoy, Richelieu, La Valette, Sourdís Archbishop of Bourdeaux, Cardinal Theodore Trivulce, commander of the Spanish cavalry, had all worn the cuirass, and served personally themselves. One of the Bishops of Mendes had often been an Intendant of the army.

The Popes sometimes threatened these warlike Priests with excommunication. Pope Urban VIII. being offended with France, sent a message to Cardinal de La Valette, that if he did not lay down his arms, he would deprive him of his Cardinalship; but being soon after reconciled to France, he heaped benedictions upon him.

The Ambassadors, no less ministers of peace than the clergy, made no difficulty of serving in the armies belonging to the allied powers to whom they were deputed. Charpacé, Envoy from France to Holland, commanded a regiment there, in the year 1637; and even since, the Ambassador D'Estrade bore a colonel's commission in their service.

France had not, in all, more than fourscore thousand effective troops on foot. Their marine, annihilated for many ages, a little retrieved by Cardinal Richelieu, was ruined again under the administration of Mazarin. Louis XIII. had not above forty-five millions solvent, ordinary revenue; but the silver was then at a currency of twenty-six livres the mark. These forty-five millions amount to about eighty-five millions of this time, when the arbitrary estimate of the silver mark is raised to forty-nine livres and a half; an exorbitant numerary valuation, and which the public interest and national justice should forbid ever to be augmented.

Commerce, which is now spread so universally, was then confined to very few hands. The interior police of the Kingdom was entirely neglected; an unerring proof of a bad administration. Cardinal Richelieu, taken up with his own dignity, which was connected with that of

the state, had begun to render France formidable abroad, without having made her flourishing at home. The public roads were neither repaired nor guarded; they were infested with highwaymen: the streets of Paris were narrow, ill paved, offensive with all manner of filth, and continually filled with robbers. By the Registers of Parliament, we may see, that the watch of that city was then reduced to forty-five men, ill paid, and little mindful of their duty.

Ever since the death of Francis II. France had been continually torn to pieces by factions or civil wars. The yoke had never been borne willingly or peaceably. The nobility were nursed in conspiracies. Plotting was then the science of the Court, as that of pleasing their Sovereign has been since.

This spirit of discord and faction had extended itself from the Court even to the smallest towns, and insinuated itself into every Community in the Kingdom. Every thing was contested, because there was nothing settled. There was not a parish in Paris which did not come to blows; the processions fought with one another, for the honour of their banners. The Canons of our Lady were often seen in tumult with those of the Holy Chapel: and on the day that Louis XII. placed his Kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary, the Parliament of Paris and the Court of Exchequer fought for precedence, in the very chapel of the saint they were both met to supplicate.

Almost all the Communities were up in arms, and almost every individual was possessed with the madness of duelling. This species of Gothic barbarity, formerly encouraged by Kings themselves, and then become the characteristic of the nation, contributed full as much as the foreign and civil wars to depopulate the country. We may with truth aver, that, in the course of twenty years, ten of which were spent in war, more Frenchmen fell by the hands of Frenchmen, than by those of their enemies.

We shall say nothing here of the method by which arts and sciences were cultivated; that part of the history of

our manners shall be given in its proper place. We shall only remark, that the French nation was plunged in ignorance, without exception of those who thought themselves wiser than the vulgar.

They consulted astrologers, and believed in them. All the Memoirs of that time, to begin with the History of the President de Thou, are filled with predictions. The grave and severe Duke de Sully seriously records those that were foretold of Henry IV. This credulity, the most infallible mark of ignorance, was then so much in vogue, that they took care to secrete an astrologer near Queen Anne of Austria's chamber, at the birth of Louis XIV.

What is difficult to be believed, but is nevertheless related by the Abbot Vittorio Siri, a contemporary and well informed writer, is, that Louis XIII was from his infancy surnamed *The Just*, because he was born under *Libra*, or the Sign of the Balance.

The same weakness which brought into fashion that absurd chimera of judicial astrology, gave credit also to sorcery, and notions of demoniacks. It became an article of religion. The priests were for ever conjuring out evil spirits; and the tribunals, composed of magistrates who ought to have been more enlightened than the vulgar, were constantly employed in trying forcerers. The memory of Cardinal Richelieu will for ever be reproached with the death of the famous Curate of Loudun, Urban Grandier, who was condemned to be burnt for a magician, by a commission signed by the Council. One is shocked to reflect, that the Minister and the Judges should have been so weak as to believe in the Devils of Loudun, or so cruel as to condemn an innocent man to the flames*. It will ever be remembered with astonish-

* The true reason of Grandier's persecution was his being thought, and perhaps justly, the writer of a lampoon, intitled the *Female Shoemaker of Loudun*, in which the birth and family of Richelieu were ridiculed. He was charged with necromancy, and possessing some of the *Ursuline* sisterhood with evil spirits; tried and convicted on the testimony of the following Devils; Ashtaroth, of the order of the Seraphim, and chief of the possessing demons; Eefas, Celfus, Acaas, Cedon and Afinodeus, of the order of the Thrones; Alex, Zabulon, Nephthalim, Cham, Uriel, and Aebas, of the order of Principalities:—

ment, even by the latest posterity, that the wife of the Marshal d'Ancre was burnt at the stake as a sorceress *.

We may yet see, in a copy of some Registries of the Châtelet, a process begun in 1601, about a horse that had been trained and managed by its industrious master, in such a manner as we may have sometimes seen examples of at a fair; and they would willingly have burnt both the horse and its master.

This is sufficient to give a general idea of the spirit and manners of the age which preceded that of Louis XIV.

The gross ignorance that was diffused through all orders of the state, introduced, even among the most virtuous and civilized, such superstitious practices as reflected a disgrace on religion. The Calvinists, confounding the reasonable worship of the Catholics with the abuses they made of that worship, were but the more confirmed in their hatred against our Church. To our popular superstitions, often full of revelry, they opposed a rigid severity and savageness of manners, the common characteristic of almost all reformers. Thus was France degraded and rent asunder by the demon of party; and that spirit of sociableness which now renders the nation so amiable and distinguished, was then absolutely unknown. There were no houses where people of genius might assemble to communicate their knowledge to each other; no Academies; no regular Theatres: in fine, the manners, laws, arts, society, religion, peace, and war, were unlike all that we have since seen in that era which is called *The Age of Louis XIV.*

that is, on the evidence of the *Ursulines*, who fancied themselves possessed by such infernal hierarchy. He was condemned to be burnt alive, and was accordingly executed, suffering with resolution, and like a Christian.

Just as they were going to set fire to the stake, a large humble-bee chanced to fly about his head; upon which a priest, who was standing by, declared it to be the Devil, (name not mentioned) that was come to carry off the soul of Grandier.

* She was accused of having exercised witchcraft against Mary de Medicis; and being interrogated what species of sorcery she had used, she replied, *that only which great souls exercise over weak minds.*

C H A P.

C H A P. III.

The Minority of Louis XIV. Victories of the French under the Great Condé, then Duke d'Enguien.

CARDINAL Richelieu and Louis XIII. happened to die; the one admired and hated, the other already forgotten. They left behind them to the French nation, which was then full of dissension, a strong aversion to the very name of Minister, and but little respect for the Throne. Louis XIII. by his will appointed a Regency. This Monarch, who was but ill obeyed during his life, flattered himself that he should be more respected after his death; but the first step taken by his widow, Anne of Austria, was to obtain a decree of the Parliament of Paris to annul the will of her husband. This body having been a long time in opposition to the Court, and who, under Louis, had scarcely supported the liberty of making remonstrances, cancelled the testament of their Sovereign with the same ease that they would have determined the cause of a private citizen*. Anne of Austria appealed to this Court to obtain an unlimited regency, because Mary de Medicis had done the same, after the death of Henry IV; and Mary de Medicis had indeed set the example, because that any other course would have been tedious and uncertain; that the Parliament, surrounded by her guards, could not refuse her request; and that an arret given by the Parliament and the Peers appeared to confirm her authority incontestably.

The custom which gave the regency to the Queen-mother, appeared then to the French a law almost as fundamental, as the one that precludes females from the

* Riencourt, in his History of Louis XIV. says, that the will of Louis XIII. was confirmed in Parliament. What deceived this Writer was, that Louis XIII. had, in reality, declared the Queen Regent, which article was confirmed; but he, had also limited her authority, which part was cancelled.

Crown*. The Parliament of Paris having twice determined this point, that is to say, confirmed by its decrees alone this maternal right, seemed in effect to have conferred the regency: it considered itself, and not without some apparent truth, as the tutor of Kings, and each Counsellor thought himself a part of the sovereignty. By the same arret, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, brother to the King, received the empty title of Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, under the commanding Regent.

Anne of Austria was obliged, at first, to continue the war with her brother, Philip IV. whom she truly loved. It is difficult to say precisely, what occasioned that war. They demanded nothing from Spain, not even Navarre, which should have been the patrimony of the Kings of France. They contended from the year 1635, because Cardinal Richelieu chose it; and most probably the reason of his choosing it was, that it might render his services necessary. He made an alliance with Sweden against the Emperor; and also with Duke Bernard de Saxe-Weimar, one of those Generals whom the Italians stiled *Condottieri*, that is to say, who sold their troops. He also attacked the Austrian-Spanish branch, in those Ten Provinces that we in general call by the name of Flanders; and he divided with the Dutch, who were then our allies, that Flanders which had not been conquered.

The strength of the war was on the side of Flanders. The Spanish troops issued from the frontiers of Hainault, to the number of twenty-six thousand men, conducted by an old experienced General, called Don Francisco de Melos. They ravaged the frontiers of Champagne, attacked Rocroi, and purposed marching even to the gates of Paris, as they had done eight years before. Their hopes were animated by the death of Louis XIII. and the apparent weakness of the state from a minority; and when they found themselves opposed only by an army inferior to them in numbers, and commanded by a young

* The Salique Law.

man of but one-and-twenty, they flattered themselves with certain success.

This inexperienced youth, whom they despised, was Louis de Bourbon, then Duke d'Enguien, and since known by the title of the *Great Condé*. Most great generals have become so by degrees. This Prince was born one; the art of war seemed in him but a natural instinct. There was in Europe only he, and the Swede Torstenson, whose genius, at twenty years old, might have dispensed with experience*.

The Duke d'Enguien had received, with the account of the death of Louis XIII. orders not to hazard a battle. The Marshal de l'Hospital, who was appointed to conduct and advise him, seconded these timid orders, from his great circumspection. The Prince minded neither the Court nor the Marshal; he confided his design to none but Gassion, the Major General, who was worthy the honour of being consulted by him; and they soon brought the Marshal to think a battle necessary.

It is remarked, that the Prince having settled every thing the night before the battle, slept so soundly, that they were obliged to awaken him for the engagement. May 19, 1643. The same thing is told of Alexander. It is natural that a young man, exhausted with the fatigue of preparations for so great a day, should fall into a heavy sleep; it is likewise so, that a genius suited to war, and acting without perturbation, should retain enough of calmness to suffer his body to repose.

* Torstenson was page to Gustavus Adolphus in 1624. The King being ready to attack a body of Lithuanians, in Livonia, and having no Adjutant near him, dispatched Torstenson with orders to a General Officer to take advantage of a movement which he had seen made by the enemy. Torstenson went, and returned; in the mean time the enemy had changed their march. The King was distressed at the order he had given, and Torstenson said to him, "Sire, be pleased to pardon what I have done; but seeing the enemy had made a different movement, I gave a different order." The King made no reply, but at night when the page attended him at table, he made him sit down by him, and sup with him: he gave him an Ensigncy in the Guards, in a fortnight after a company, and at last a regiment. Torstenson was one of the greatest Officers in Europe.

The

The Prince gained the battle, it may be said, by himself; by a quick glance of the eye, which at once saw danger and resource, and by an activity free from confusion, which was directed opportunely to all quarters. It was he who with a few cavalry attacked that Spanish Infantry, till then invincible, as strong and close as the famous ancient Phalanx, and which opened with an agility which the former was incapable of, in order to discharge eighteen cannon inclosed in the middle of it. The Prince surrounded and attacked it three times. Scarcely had he gained the victory, when he forbade all further slaughter. The Spanish Officers threw themselves on their knees, to implore his protection against the fury of the victorious soldiery. The Duke d'Enghien was as anxious for their safety, as he had been for the conquest.

The old Count de Fuentes, who commanded that Spanish Infantry, died pierced through with wounds. Condé, on being told of it, said, "he should have wished to have so died, had he not conquered."

The respect with which Europe had been impressed for the Spanish troops, now inclined towards the French, who had not, during an hundred years, gained so celebrated a victory; for the bloody action of Marignan, rather disputed than gained by Francis I. against the Swiss, was as much won by the German Black corps, as by the bravery of the French. The battles also of Pavia and St. Quintin were yet more fatal to the honour of France. Henry IV. was so unfortunate as to gain no great advantages over any nation but his own. In the reign of Louis XIII. the Marshal de Guebriant had some slight successes, but they were always counterbalanced by losses. The battles which were capable of shaking empires, and that will rest for ever in the memory of men, were only fought, in those days, by Gustavus Adolphus.

The action of Rocroi became the epocha of the glory of France, as well as that of the Prince of Condé. He knew how to conquer, and to make advantage of a victory. His letters to the Court determined them on the
siege

siege of Thionville, which Cardinal Richelieu had never dared to attempt; and at the return of his Couriers, every thing was already prepared for that expedition.

The Prince of Condé marched across the enemy's country, deceived the vigilance of General Beck, and at last took possession of Thionville. From thence he hastened to lay siege to Cirq, and made himself master of it. He obliged the Germans to repass the Rhine, and immediately followed them. He hastened to repair the defeats and losses which the French had sustained on these frontiers, after the death of the Marshal de Guebriant. He found Fribourg taken, and General Merci lying before its walls, with an army much superior to his. Condé had with him two Marshals of France. The one was Grammont, and the other Turenne, who had been made a Marshal some months before, having served successfully in Piedmont, against Spain. 'Twas there he laid the foundation of that renowned character, which he afterwards obtained.

The Prince, with these two Generals, attacked the Camp of Merci, which was intrenched on two eminences. The combat was repeated three times, on three different days. It is said, that the Duke d'Enguien threw his General's staff into the enemy's trenches, and marched to recover it, sword in hand, at the head of the regiment of Conti. It required, perhaps, such an intrepid action as this to encourage troops to such difficult attacks. This battle of Fribourg, more bloody than decisive, was this Prince's second triumph. Merci decamped four days after. Philipsbourg and Mayence having surrendered, were at once both the proofs and the fruits of this victory.

The Duke d'Enguien returned to Paris, amidst the acclamations of the people, and demanded some token of acknowledgement from the Court. He left his army under the command of the Prince Marshal de Turenne; but this General, though very successful before, was now beaten at Mariendal. The Prince flies to the army, re-assumes the staff, and, to the glory of again commanding Turenne, adds that of retriev-

Aug. 8,
1643.

Aug. 31,
1644.

April,
1645.

ing his defeat. He attacked Merci, in the plains of Aug. 3, Norlingen, and gained a complete victory. 1645. The Marshal de Grammont was there taken prisoner; but General Glen, who commanded under Merci, was made captive at the same time, and Merci himself was numbered with the dead. This General, esteemed one of the ablest Captains, was interred near the field of battle; and on his tomb was engraved, *Sto Victor, Heroem calcas*: "Stop, Traveller, thou treadest upon an Hero."

The fame of the Duke d'Enguien then eclipsed every Oa. 7, other name. He soon after besieged Dun- 1646. kirk, in the fight of the Spanish army, and was the first who conquered that place for France.

So much success and so many services procured him rather more jealousy than reward from the Court; and rendered him as much an object of fear to the Minister, as to the enemy. They removed him from the scene of his conquests and his glory, and sent him into Catalonia, with troops very undisciplined, and as ill paid. 1647. He invested Lerida, and was obliged to raise the siege. They accuse him, in some books, of too much vain parade, in having opened the trenches to the sound of violins, not knowing that it was then the custom of the Spaniards*.

The fluctuation of affairs soon obliged the Court to recall Condé back to Flanders. The Archduke Leopold, brother to the Emperor Ferdinand III. had laid siege to Lens in Artois. Condé, placed once more at the head of those troops that had been used to conquer under his command, led them directly against the Archduke. This was now the third time he had joined battle, against the odds of superior numbers. The only military oration he made use of, was this: "My friends, remember Rocroi, Fribourg, and Norlingen." This action of Lens completed his glory. Turenne had the honour, on that day, to lend most powerful assistance towards a victory that served in some sort to humble him.

* Their instrument is rather the Guitar.

But, perhaps, he never appeared so great, as in so gallantly seconding his rival in fame.

He himself disengaged, and supported the Marshal de Grammont, who was giving way with Aug. 10,
the left wing; and took General Beck 1648.
prisoner. The Arch-Duke, with the Count Fuenfaldagne, with difficulty escaped by flight. The Spaniards and the Imperialists, which composed this army, were dispersed; they lost above a hundred pair of colours, and thirty-eight pieces of cannon; which was a very considerable article at that time. Three thousand men fell in that action, five thousand were taken prisoners, the rest all deserted; so that the Arch-Duke was left without an army.

Those who would truly be instructed, may remark, that, since the foundation of their monarchy, the French had never gained, one after another, so many battles, and such glorious ones, by the conduct of her generals, and the bravery of her troops.

While the Prince of Condé, now properly so called*, thus reckoned the years of his youth by the number of his victories; and the Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII. had so well sustained the character of a Son of Henry IV. and the honour of July
France, by the conquest of Gravelines, Courtray and 1644.
Mardyke; the Viscount Turenne had taken Nov.
Landau, drove the Spaniards from Treves, 1644.
and re-established the Elector.

He likewise, in conjunction with the Swedes, gained the battle of Lavingen, as also that of Sommerhausen; and drove the Duke of Bavaria, at Nov.
the age of near fourscore, out of his territories. 1647. The
Count De Harcourt took Balaguier, and beat 1645.
the Spaniards. They also lost Portolongone
in Italy; and twenty ships, with as many galleys of
France, which comprised almost the whole of the ma-
rine re-established by Richelieu, defeated the 1646.
fleet of Spain, on the coast of Italy.

* His father died in 1646.

But this detail ends not here. The arms of France likewise invaded and conquered Lorrain, from the Duke Charles IV. a warlike Prince, but unsteady, imprudent, and unfortunate; who saw himself at the same time despoiled of his dominions by France, and kept prisoner by Spain. The allies of France pressed hard upon the Austrian power, both in the North, and in the South. The Duke of Albuquerque, General of the Portuguese, won the battle of Badajoz, against the Spaniards. Tor-

May. 1644. tenson defeated the Imperial troops near Tabor; and gained a compleat victory. The

Mar. 1645. Prince of Orange, at the head of the Dutch forces, penetrated into Brabant.

The King of Spain, beaten on all sides, beheld Roussillon and Catalonia in the hands of the
1647. French. Naples having also revolted from him, submitted itself to the Duke of Guise, the last Prince of that branch of a house so fruitful in illustrious and dangerous men.

This person, who passed but for a daring adventurer, because he happened to be unsuccessful in his pursuits, had at least the glory of hazarding himself singly aboard a small bark, of passing through the whole Spanish fleet, and defending Naples, without any other succour than his own personal bravery.

On considering so many misfortunes and losses fallen upon the House of Austria, so many repeated victories by the French, and seconded by the successes of their allies, one might well suppose; that Vienna and Madrid only waited to be called upon to throw open their gates; and that the Emperor and the King of Spain should be almost without an acre of territory. And yet, five years of glory, scarcely interrupted by the least reverse of fortune, produced but very few material advantages—much bloodshed, but no revolution. Nay, if any such event was to be apprehended, it was rather for France herself, who, in the midst of so much apparent prosperity, was nearly brought to ruin.

C H A P. IV.

The Civil War :

THE Queen, Anne of Austria, absolute Regent, had made Cardinal Mazarin the Master of France, and of herself. He held over her that sort of dominion, which an artful man may easily exercise over a woman born with weakness enough to be governed, and sufficient obstinacy to persist in her election.

We read, in some Memoirs of these times, that the Queen placed no confidence in Mazarin, but on the insufficiency of Potier, Bishop of Beauvais, whom she had at first chosen for her Minister. This Bishop has been described as incapable of government. It is believed he was so, and that the Queen employed him, for a time, merely as a screen, to avoid giving offence to the nation, by the choice of a second Cardinal, and a foreigner. But a thing that cannot be believed, is, that Potier began his transient Ministry, by declaring to the Dutch, that "they must conform to the Catholic religion, if they expected to remain in the alliance of France." He should also have made the same proposition to the Swedes.

Almost all the Historians repeat this absurdity, because they had read it in some Court Memoirs, and other tracts of the Frondeurs. There are a number of articles, in those Memoirs, either misrepresented by passion, or related from popular reports. The Puerile should not be cited, and the Absurd ought not to be credited.

It is very probable that Cardinal Mazarin was the Minister designed, for a long time, in the Queen's mind, and even while Louis XIII. was yet living. This cannot be doubted, after reading the Memoirs of La Porte, first valet-de-chambre to Anne of Austria. Inferior persons about a Court, who are witnesses to all the interior of it, often get at the knowledge of things, that the Parli-

ment, or even the heads of parties, know nothing of; nor sometimes so much as suspect.

Mazarin used his power with moderation at first. One must live in intimacy with a Minister, to be able to delineate his character; to say what degree of courage, or weakness, he had in his nature; and whether he was an honest man, or a knave: so that, without investigating what Mazarin was, we shall content ourselves with only telling what he did.

He affected, on the commencement of his elevation, as much humility, as Richelieu had assumed of haughtiness. Instead of having himself attended by guards, and appearing in public with a royal state, he went abroad with the most modest train, and shewed an affability, and remarkable condescension, in every circumstance where his predecessor had behaved with insolence and inflexibility. The Queen endeavoured to conciliate his government and person, both to the people, and the court, and succeeded in her purpose. Gaston, Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII. and the Prince of Condé, supported her power; and had no other emulation, but to serve the State.

It required imposts to carry on the war against Spain, and the Emperor. The finances of France were, ever since the death of Henry the Great, as ill conducted as in Spain, and Germany. The Administration was a chaos, where the greatest ignorance reigned, and the embezzlement of the public money was at the highest. But this depredation did not operate upon such considerable objects, as in the present age. The State was eight times less in debt; they had not armies then of two hundred thousand men to maintain, no immense subsidies to pay, nor any naval war to sustain.

The revenues of the kingdom amounted, in the first years of the Regency, to near seventy-five millions of livres, of the then currency. This sum had been sufficient, if there had been any œconomy in the Minister. But in 1646 and 1647, there was a necessity of applying to new resources. The Superintendent, at that time, was a common peasant of Sienna, named Particelli Emeri, whose

soul

loul was baser even than his birth, and whose pride and profligacy raised the indignation of the Kingdom against him.

This person contrived resources equally burdensome and absurd. He created the offices of Comptrollers of Faggots, of sworn Salesmen of Hay, of King's Counselors; Criers of Wine, and also sold patents of nobility. The revenue of the Hotel-de-Ville in Paris, amounted then to only about eleven millions. They cut off some quarters from the renters; augmented the fees of admission, created several offices of Masters of Requests, and withheld about fourscore thousand crowns of the salaries of the magistrates.

It is easy to imagine how much the public spirit revolted against two Italians; come into France without any fortune, and enriched by the spoils of the nation, which afforded such a handle against them. The Parliament of Paris, the Masters of Requests, the other Courts, and the annuitants, raised a clamour against them. In vain Mazarin removed his creature Emerici from the post of Superintendant, and banished him to one of his estates; the nation continued outrageous that this man should be master of a foot of land in France; and held Cardinal Mazarin in detestation, although even at that very time he had concluded the great business of the Peace of Munster. For it is worth remarking, that this famous treaty and the Barricadoes were in the same year, 1648.

The civil wars commenced in Paris, as they did in London, about a trifle.

The Parliament of Paris possessing the right of assenting or dissenting upon all edicts of taxes, warmly opposed these new impositions, and acquired the confidence of the people, by thwarting and distressing the Minister. 1647.

They did not begin by an insurrection: a people are provoked and emboldened by degrees. The populace might at first have betaken themselves to arms, and chosen a leader, as they did at Naples. But the Magistrates and Officers of the State proceeded with more

deliberation, and commenced with preserving all becoming decorum, as far as the spirit of party would permit.

Cardinal Mazarin thought that, in artfully dividing the magistrature, he should prevent any further trouble; but inflexibility was opposed to suppleness. He suppressed four years fine of all the Superior Courts, in remitting to them the Paulette; that is to say, an exemption from the tax contrived by Paulet, under Henry IV. for insuring the property of their posts*. This retrenchment was not a grievance, but it preserved the four years tenure to the Parliament; and he thought to disarm them by this favour.

The Parliament scorned this proffer, which would have exposed them to the censure of preferring its own interest to that of the other assemblies. It therefore made its arret of Union with the other Courts of Justice. Mazarin, who could never pronounce French well, having said that this decree of *Ognon* was outrageous, and having had it annulled in Council, the single word *Ognon* rendered it ridiculous; and as men are not apt to truckle to those they despise, the Parliament became thence more hardy.

It demanded peremptorily that they should dismiss all the Intendants, considered by the nation as extortioners, and that they should abolish that new species of Magistracy instituted under Louis XIII. without passing through the usual forms. This was to soothe the nation, as much as to pique the Court. It determined, that, according to the ancient laws, no citizen was to be imprisoned, without his natural judges being advertised of it, within the space of twenty-four hours; and nothing appeared to be more just.

The Parliament proceeded further: It abolished the Intendants, by an arret, with orders to the King's Attornies in their districts to bring informations against them.

May 14,
1648.

* A yearly stipend paid to the Crown, by the Officers of Judicature, or the Exchequer, to insure the succession of their places to their descendants.

Thus

Thus the resentment against the Minister, strengthened by the love of the public good, threatened the Court with a revolution. The Queen gave way; she offered to abolish the Intendants, desiring only that she might be permitted to continue three of them; but this was refused her.

While these troubles were in agitation, the Prince of Condé gained the famous victory of Lens, Aug. 20.
1648. which consummated his glory. The King, who was then but about ten years of age, cried out upon this occasion, "The Parliament will be sorry at this news." This expression makes it sufficiently appear that the Court at that time considered the Parliament of Paris but as a conspiracy of rebels.

The Cardinal and the Courtiers gave it no other appellation; but the more this body resented their being deemed rebels, the more obstinate they continued.

The Queen and the Cardinal resolved to have three of the most factious Magistrates taken up; Novion Blanc-ménil, *President à Mortier*, as he is stiled; Charton, President of a Board of Inquests; and Broussel, an old Counsellor, and Clerk of the Great Chamber. These were not chiefs of the male-contents, but their tools. Charton, a man of mean parts, was noted by the nickname of *I say now*, because he began and concluded all his speeches with those words. Broussel had nothing to recommend him, but his grey hairs, his hatred to the Minister, and his custom of always exclaiming against the Court, upon every occasion whatsoever. His confederates esteemed him not, but the rabble idolized him.

Instead of carrying them off, privately, in the silence of the night, the Cardinal thought to awe the people by having them publicly arrested in open day, while *Te Deum* was singing at Notre-Dame, for the victory of Lens, and the Swifs of the Chamber were carrying into the church seventy-three pair of colours taken from the enemy. This was, in effect, what caused the subversion of the Kingdom.

Charton slipped away, Blanc-ménil was taken without resistance, but it was not so easy a matter to carry off Broussel. An old maid-servant, singly, on seeing her master forced into a coach by Comminges, Lieutenant of the life-guards, raised a mob, which surrounded the coach, and tore it open; but the French guards dispersed them, and the prisoner was conducted along the high road to Sedan. His arrest, so far from intimidating the people, inflamed and hardened them the more. They shut up the shops, extended the great iron chains that were then placed at the entrance of the principal streets, and made other barricades; while four hundred thousand voices cried out "Liberty and Broussel."

It is difficult to reconcile all the particulars related by Cardinal de Retz, Madame de Motteville, the Advocate General Talon, and many others; but they all agree in the principal articles. During the night that succeeded this commotion, the Queen ordered about two thousand men of the troops cantoned at some leagues from Paris, to guard the King's house. The Chancellor Seguier had gone before to the Parliament, preceded by a Lieutenant and Guards*, to annul all their arrests, and even, as was then said, to prohibit that assembly.

But that very night the Faction had assembled together at the Coadjutor's †, and every thing was prepared to put the citizens in arms. The populace stopped the Chancellor's coach, and overturned it. He with difficulty made his escape, with his daughter-in-law, the Duchess of Sully, who obstinately accompanied him on that occasion. He retreated in disorder into the Hotel de Luines, pressed and insulted by the mob. The Lieutenant of the Police came to conduct him to the Palais Royal, escorted by two companies of the Swiss Guards, and a detachment of the

* The word is *Hoqueton*, which signifies a particular sort of soldiery, so called from their uniform; something resembling our Battle-axe Guards, called *Beef-eaters*.

† Cardinal de Retz.

Gens d'armes. The populace fired upon them, killed some, and wounded the Dukes of Sully in the arm.

Two hundred barricadoes were instantly formed, and extended to within an hundred paces of the Palais Royal. All the soldiers, after seeing some of their party fall, drew back, and became quiet spectators of the fray. The Parliament in a body marched on foot to the Queen, through the barricadoes, which were opened to them, and demanded the discharge of their imprisoned members. The Queen was obliged to release them, and by that very step encouraged the Faction to Further outrages.

Aug. 26,
1648.

The Cardinal de Retz boasted that he alone had armed all Paris on that day, which was distinguished by the name of the *Barricadoes*, and was the second of this kind. This singular person was the first Bishop in France that ever raised a civil war, without making religion even a pretence for it. He has given a description of himself in his Memoirs, which are written in an elevated stile, with an impetuosity of genius, and an inequality, which forms a lively image of his own character. He was a man who immersed in an excess of debauchery, and then labouring under the natural effects of it, harangued the people, and became their demagogue. He preached up faction and sedition. He had been, at the age of twenty-three, the principal in a conspiracy against Cardinal Richelieu's life. He was the contriver of the Barricadoes, hurried the Parliament into cabals, and the people into sedition. What appears the most extraordinary, is, that the Parliament, at his instigation, set up their standard against the Court before they had acquired the aid of any Prince, foreign or domestic.

This assembly had been for a long time considered in different lights, by the Court and by the people. If one was to take the decision of the Court, and all our Ministers, the Parliament of Paris was merely a chamber of justice, erected to determine causes between plaintiff and defendant. It held its power at the sole will an

pleasure of the Crown. It had no other claim to pre-eminence, before the other Parliaments of the Kingdom, than that of its antiquity, and a more considerable jurisdiction. It was not the Court of Peers, but because the Court resided at Paris. It had no more right to make remonstrances, than the other assemblies; and even this right was only a matter of pure grace and indulgence. It had succeeded, indeed, to those Parliaments which formerly represented the French nation; but it retained of those ancient assemblies nothing but the name alone. And as an irrefragable proof of this, the States-General were substituted in the place of the assemblies of the nation; and the present Parliament of Paris no more resembled those that were held under our first Kings, than a Consul of Smyrna, or Aleppo, can be compared to a Consul of ancient Rome.

This sole mistake of the name was the pretence assumed by a body of ambitious Lawyers, who, having bought their offices, would challenge to themselves the power of the conquerors of the Gauls, and the nobles who derived siefs from the Crown. This body had ever made an ill use of the privileges which must necessarily be indulged to a tribunal always subsisting in a capital city. It published an arrêt of exilement once against Charles VII.; it instituted a criminal process against Henry III.; and had at all times opposed, as much as in its power, the sovereign authority; and under the minority of Louis XIV. and the most gentle of governments, with the most indulgent of Queens, it would commence a civil war with its Prince, after the example of the Parliament of England, which at that time held its King a prisoner, and afterwards took off his head. These were the opinions and the conversations of the cabinet.

But the Citizens of Paris, and all who wore, or were dependant on, the Long Robe, regarded the Parliament as a more august body; which had ever rendered justice, with a most respectable integrity; that had nothing in view, but the good of the State, and pursued that point, at the peril of its own existence; that bounded

its ambition to the glory of restraining that of the favourite; and which had ever held the balance even, between the Prince and people: so that without staying to inquire into the origin of its rights or powers, they imputed to it rights the most sacred, and powers the most incontestable, when they saw it sustain the cause of the public against obnoxious Ministers. They stiled it "The Father of the State;" and made no difference between that claim which derived the Crown to their Kings, and that which authorized the Parliament to restrain their power.

Between these two extremes, a just medium was difficult to be determined; for, in truth, there was no law well acknowledged, but that of the time, or occasion. Under a strong government, the Parliament was weak; but under a feeble King, it assumed a vigour; and at this time might be justly applied what Monsieur de Guimené said, when this Body complained under Louis XIII. that the deputies of the Nobles were suffered to have precedence of it, "Gentlemen, you will take the lead, under a Minority."

We shall not here repeat all that has been written about these troubles, nor transcribe volumes to lay before the Reader so many details of transactions, which, though then matters interesting and important, are at present scarcely remembered. But we ought to relate whatever may serve to shew the character of the Nation, and pay less attention to what is usual in all civil wars, than to what distinguished that of *La Fronde*.

Two powers established to preserve peace in the nation, a Parliament of Paris and an Archbishop, having begun the commotion, the people very naturally concluded their own insurrection to be authorized. The Queen could not appear in public without being insulted. They called her nothing but Dame Anne; or, if any title was annexed to that appellation, it was only one of reproach. They with rancour charged her with sacrificing the Nation to her partiality for Mazarin; and, what was still more mortifying, she heard songs and ballads,

ballads, which are still remembered as monuments of wit and malice, roared out in the streets, publishing the suspicions they affected to have of her chastity. Madame de Motteville said, with her noble and sincere *naiiveté*, that “these insolences gave the Queen concern, and raised her compassion for the deceived citizens.”

She fled from Paris with her children, her Minister, Jan. 6, the Duke of Orleans brother of Louis 1649. XIII. and the Great Condé himself, to St. Germain's, where almost the whole Court lay upon straw. They were reduced to pawn the jewels of the Crown. The King often wanted common necessaries. The Pages of the Queen's Chamber were discharged, because it was not in her power to maintain them. At that time the Aunt of Louis XIV. daughter of Henry the Great, and wife to the King of England, then a fugitive in Paris, was reduced to the extremes of poverty; and her daughter, afterwards married to the brother of Louis XIV. was often obliged to continue in bed, for want of fire to sit by; while the people of Paris, infatuated with their phrenzy, paid not the least attention to the distresses of so many royal personages.

Anne of Austria, whose wit, accomplishments, and goodness, have been so much extolled, was hardly ever in France but unhappy: a long time treated as criminal by her husband, and persecuted by Cardinal Richelieu, she had her papers seized at Val-de-Grace, and was obliged to sign a confession in full Council, of her having been guilty against the honour of the King her husband. When she was delivered of Louis XIV. the King refused to salute her, though it was the custom, on such occasions; and this affront affected her health so much, that it endangered her life. Finally, in her regency, after having heaped favours upon all supplicants that applied to her, she saw herself driven from the capital, by a fickle and furious populace. She and her sister-in-law, the Queen of England, were both of them memorable examples of the reverse of fortune, which even crowned heads are

are not exempt from ; and her mother-in-law, Mary de Medicis, was even still more unhappy.

The Queen, with tears in her eyes, intreated the Prince of Condé to take upon him the charge of being the King's protector. The conqueror of Rocroi, of Fribourg, of Lens, and of Norlingen, could not counteract such signal services. He was flattered with the honour of defending a Court that he thought ungrateful, against the Fronde, which sought his support. The Parliament had then the Great Condé to contend with, and yet were determined to hazard the war.

The Prince of Conti, brother to the Great Condé, equally envious and incapable of rivalling him; the Duke of Longueville, the Duke of Beaufort, the Duke of Bouillon; wrought upon by the turbulent spirit of the Coadjutor, and fond of change, flattering themselves to raise their grandeur upon the ruins of the State, and to make the blind rage of the Parliament serve the private purposes of their party, went and tendered their assistance to the League. A General was appointed in the Great Chamber to an army they had not on foot; and every individual set a tax on himself to levy troops. There had been twenty additional Councillors of the Parliament created by Cardinal Richelieu; but the rest of that body, from a poorness of spirit common to all popular assemblies, seemed still to persecute his memory, through them. They treated them with contempt, affected not to consider them as members of the same body, and imposed a fine upon each of them, of fifteen thousand livres, towards carrying on the war against the Crown, and to purchase peace for themselves from the fraternity.

The Great Chamber, the Court of Inquests, the Court of Requests, the Court of Exchequer, and the Court of Aids, which had all exclaimed against the common slight and necessary taxes, and above all, against the augmentation of the Tariff*, which did not exceed two hundred thousand livres, raised themselves a sum of ten millions,

* A book of rates, in which the duties payable on imports and exports are set down.

of our present currency, for the subversion of their country. An arret was made to authorize the seizing on Feb. 15, 1649. any cash belonging to the partisans of the Court, where-ever it could be found. They got by this means to the amount of about twelve hundred thousand of our livres. They raised twelve thousand men by an arret of Parliament. Every Gate-way * furnished a man and horse. This corps was called the Cavalry of the Gates. The Coadjutor had a regiment of his own, which was named the Corinthian regiment, because he was titular Archbishop of Corinth.

↓ Without the names of the King of France, of the Great Condé, of the capital of the kingdom, this war of the Fronde would have been as ridiculous as that of the Barberini. They could not tell why they had taken up arms. The Prince of Condé besieged five hundred thousand citizens with only eight thousand men. The Parisians took the field, adorned with feathers and ribbands. Their evolutions were the jest of the disciplined troops. They would take flight upon seeing two hundred of the royal forces in a body together. Every thing that related to them was turned into ridicule. The regiment of Corinth having been beaten by a handful of men, that defeat was called *The first Epistle to the Corinthians*.

Those twenty Counsellors who had been obliged to subscribe fifteen millions of livres each, received no other honour than the being called the *Twenty Fifteens*.

The Duke of Beaufort-Vendôme, grandson to Henry IV. the idol of the people, and the instrument made use of to put them into commotion, a Prince of great popularity, but small talents, was publickly the object of the Court railleries, and even of the Fronde itself. They never mentioned him but under the appellation of *King of the Mob*. A ball having given him a contusion on his arm, he called it a *confusion*.

The Duchefs of Nemours says, in her Memoirs, that the Prince of Condé presented to the Queen a little

* Porte-Cochère.

hump-backed dwarf, armed cap-à-pié. "Behold," said he, "the generalissimo of the Parisian army!" This piece of contempt was pointed at his brother, the Prince of Conti, who was crook-backed, and had been chosen General by the Frondeurs. However, this same Condé was himself afterwards General of the very same troops; and Madame de Nemours adds, that he said the history of this war should only be written in Doggerel*.

The city troops that used to march out of Paris, and come back always beaten, were received on their return with hooting and laughter. They never repaired all these little checks in any other way than by couplets and epigrams. Taverns and brothels were the tents where they held their councils of war, in the midst of jesting, singing, and all manner of dissolute revelry. Their licentiousness was so unbounded, that, one night, the principal Officers of the Fronde, having met the Holy Sacrament carrying through the streets to a person they suspected to be Cardinal Mazarin, drove the procession back again, with the flats of their swords. And once seeing the Coadjutor, Archbishop of Paris, come and take his seat in Parliament, with a dagger in his pocket, the handle of which was perceived, they cried out, "Behold our good Archbishop's breviary!"

A herald at arms was sent to St. Antony's gate, accompanied by a gentleman in ordinary of the King's chamber, to offer propositions. The Parliament would not suffer him to enter, though they admitted into the Great Chamber, an envoy from the Archduke Leopold, who was then at war with France.

In the midst of all these troubles, the nobles assembled themselves in a body, at the Augustines, appointed their presidents, and publicly held their sessions. One would have concluded, that this was in order to reform the Kingdom, and to convene the states-general; but it was all on account of a stool, that the Queen had conceded

* Butler very luckily hit off, and happily executed, this thought, in his Hudibras, in burlesquing a cotemporary war of the same sort in England.

to Madame de Pons*. Nothing surely could be a stronger instance of that lightness of character which the French are generally charged with.

The civil strife which laid England waste exactly at the same time, served sufficiently to shew the different characters of the two nations. The English, in their dissensions, manifested a sanguinary animosity, and a well-directed rage. They fought desperate battles, and the sword decided every thing. They erected scaffolds for the conquered; and their King being taken prisoner, was brought before a court of justice, interrogated concerning the abuse which he was charged with having made of his power, condemned to lose his head, and executed before the eyes of his people, with as much order, and the same formalities of justice, as Feb. 9, 1649 †. would have been observed in the case of any common individual who had been capitally sentenced. Notwithstanding such horrible commotions, London remained perfectly exempt from any of the calamities incident to a civil war.

The French, on the contrary, hurried themselves into sedition, through caprice and wantonness. Women were at the head of factions, and gallantry formed and dissolved cabals. The Duchess of Longueville engaged Turenne, created a Marshal just before, to make the army he commanded for the King revolt from its allegiance.

This was the same army which the famous Duke of Saxe-Weimar had raised. It was commanded, after his death, by Count d'Erlach, of an ancient family in the Canton of Berne. It was this Count d'Erlach who gave these troops to France, and secured to her the possession of Alsace. The Viscount Turenne endeavoured to bring

* The granting a *tabouret*, or stool, is the permitting a person the honour of sitting in the Royal Presence. It may be supposed that this Council was held in order to dispute the precedency thereby granted.

† This event happened on the 30th of January, in that year. An Historian may mistake a fact, from the contrariety of relations; but Voltaire is inexcusable for mistaking a date, which any English Almanack might have ascertained.

him over, and then Alsace would have been lost to Louis XIV.; but he was not to be seduced, and preserved the Weimarian forces steady to their engagements. He was even commissioned by Cardinal Mazarin to arrest the Viscount.

That great man, unfaithful then through weakness, was obliged to fly like a fugitive from an army of which he was General, in compliance to a woman who slighted his passion; and became, from General to the King of France, Lieutenant to Don Estevan de Gamarre, with whom he was beaten at Rethel, by Marshal du Plessis-Praslin.

Every one knows the billet of the Marshal d'Hocquincourt to the Duchess of Monbatzon: "Peronne is at the service of the fairest of the fair;" and the couplet is also remembered, written by the Duke de la Rochefoucault for the Duchess of Longueville, when he received, at the battle of St. Antoine, a musket-shot which deprived him of his sight for some time:

To win her heart, and gain so rich a prize,
I war with Kings, and would assault the skies.

There is a letter preserved in the Memoirs of Mademoiselle*, written by Gaston Duke of Orleans her father, the address of which is, "To Mesdames of the Marshal-lesse de Camp, in the army of my daughter against Mazarin."

The war was concluded and renewed several times; and there was hardly any person engaged in it, who did not often change sides. The Prince of Condé, having brought back the Court in triumph to Paris, amused himself with making a jest of those he had so ably defended; and finding that his glory and services were not proportionably rewarded, began to turn Mazarin into ridicule, to insult the Queen, and brave the Government he despised. He is said to have addressed a billet to the Cardinal, *all' illustrissimo Signore Faquino**; and to have said to him one day, leaving the room, "Adieu, Mars!" He encouraged a Marquis of Jarfay to make love

* Montpensier.

† To the most illustrious Scoundrel.

to the Queen, and relented her being offended at it. He leagued with the Prince of Conti, his brother, and the Duke of Longueville, who had deserted the cause of the Fronde. They had called the party of the Duke of Beaufort, at the commencement of the regency, the *Importants*; and they called that of the Prince of Condé, the *Petits-maitres*, because they aimed at becoming masters of the State. There remain, at present, hardly any remembrances of all those troubles, but this name of *Petit-maitre*, now generally given to our young, uneducated gentry, and the appellation of *Frondeurs*, which is applied to all male-contents against Government.

They employed on both sides, the basest and most shocking artifices. Joly, a Counsellor of the Chatelet, and afterwards Secretary to Cardinal de Retz, took it into his head to make an incision in his arm, and let off a pistol in his chariot, in order to pretend that the Court had attempted to assassinate him.

Some days after, to divide the party of the Prince of Condé and the Frondeurs, and render them irreconcilable, a shot was fired at the carriage of the Prince of Condé, which killed one of his footmen. This was called a *Joliad improved*. Whose contrivance was this? Was it the device of Cardinal Mazarin? He was strongly suspected of it. Cardinal de Retz, the Duke of Beaufort, and old Broussel, were charged with it, in full Parliament, and acquitted.

All parties abused, negotiated with, and betrayed each other, by turns. Every person of importance, or who aimed at being so, was in hopes of raising his fortune upon the ruins of the Public, while the Public-Good was in every body's mouth. Gaston was jealous of the glory of the Great Condé, and of the influence of Mazarin. Condé neither loved or esteemed either of them. The Coadjutor of the Archbishopric of Paris wanted to be made a Cardinal, by the nomination of the Queen; and he then devoted himself to her, to obtain this foreign dignity, which procured him no authority, though it brought a considerable revenue.

Such

Such was then the force of prejudice, that the Prince of Conti, brother to the Great Condé, would also cover his princely head with the same red hat; and such was likewise the power of intrigue, that an Abbé, without the pretensions either of birth or merit, whose name was La Rivière, disputed this Roman hat with a Prince. But neither of them obtained it: the Prince, because he was despised; La Rivière, because they made a jest of his ambition: so that the Coadjutor carried it from them both, by sacrificing the Prince of Condé to the resentments of the Queen.

These resentments had no other foundation than the self-interested quarrels between Condé and Mazarin. No crime of state could be charged against Condé; however, he and his brother Conti, ^{January 18,} with their brother-in-law Longueville, were ^{1650.} arrested at the Louvre, without any manner of process or legal form, but solely because Mazarin was afraid of him. This proceeding was actually contrary to all law; but none of the parties troubled their heads, at that time, about such a punètilio.

The Cardinal, in order to entrap the Princes, made use of one of his political finesses. It was pretended that the Frondeurs had a design to assassinate the Prince of Condé: Mazarin made him believe, that he was about arresting one of the conspirators who should become evidence against them; and that it was necessary his Highness should sign an order to the Gens-d'armes of the Guard, to surround the Louvre. Thus did the Great Condé himself certify the warrant for his own detention. One cannot have a stronger instance that politics often consists in falsehood, and the skill is to detect the deceiver.

The Prince of Condé might have governed the State, if he would only have condescended to use the address of rendering himself agreeable; but he chose only to be admired. The people of Paris, who had set up their barricadoes for an old doating lawyer, lighted up bonfires when the Defender and Hero of France was carried off to the Castle of Vincennes.

What shews how much appearances are apt to deceive, is, that this imprisonment of these three Princes, which might be expected to have thrown their Faction into a lethargy, was what roused it the more. The Princesses of Condé, the mother, though exiled, remained still in Paris, and presented a remonstrance to the Parliament; and the Prince of Condé's wife, after many perils having taken refuge in the City of Bourdeaux, aided by the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault, made that City rise, and armed Spain in her cause.

All France re-demanded the Great Condé; and if he had just then appeared, the Court would have been undone. Gourville, who from a simple valet-de-chambre to the Duke of Rochefoucault, was become a man of consequence, from his character of a prudent daring, had formed a plan for delivering the Princes from their confinement. One of the persons engaged in this plot, had the folly to confess himself to a Priest of the Fronde, and this unworthy Priest told the secret to the Coadjutor, who was then an enemy to the Great Condé. Thus the enterprize failed, by the revealing a Confession; which, however, was a common breach of confidence, in those unhappy times.

One may see, in the Memoirs of the Counsellor of State Lenet, more curious than known, how much power, in those times of unbounded licentiousness, of trouble, of iniquity, and even of impiety, the Priests had over the minds of the people. He relates, that in Burgundy, the Dean of the Holy Chapel, attached to the Prince of Condé, offered his services to bring all the Preachers to harangue in his favour from their pulpits, and to make all the Priests use their arts in the article of Confessions.

To give an example of the manners of the times, the same Writer tells us, that when the wife of the Great Condé took refuge in Bourdeaux, the Dukes of Bouillon and Rochefoucault marched before her, at the head of a troop of young men of fashion, exclaiming, "Long live Condé!" adding some obscene expressions against Mazarin,

Mazarin, and calling out to her to repeat the exclamation.

A year after, these same Frondeurs, who had sold the Great Condé, and the other Princes, to the timid revenge of Mazarin, forced the Queen to open their prison, and banish her Minister out of the Kingdom. Mazarin went himself to Havre, where Feb. 13.
1651. they were confined, to set them at liberty, and was received by them with the contempt which he had reason to have expected; after which he retired to Liege. Condé returned to Paris, amidst the acclamations of the very people who had before hated him so much. His presence renewed the cabals, the dissensions, and the murders.

The nation remained in this state of confusion for some years longer. The Government employed no measures but such as were feeble and irresolute, and appeared to be in a very unstable condition; but then the revolvers were not more firmly united among themselves; which was all that saved the Court. The Coadjutor, sometimes friend, and sometimes enemy, to the Prince of Condé, raised a party in the Parliament, and among the people, against him. He dared, at the same time, to serve the Queen, by opposing the Prince; and to provoke her, by forcing her to drive Cardinal Mazarin farther from France, who retired to Cologne.

The Queen, by a contradiction very common to weak Governments, was obliged to receive his services and his affronts at the same time; and to name to the Cardinalate that very Coadjutor who had raised the barricadoes, and had constrained the Royal Family to fly from their capital, and then besiege it.

C H A P. V.

A Continuation of the Civil War, to the End of the Rebellion in 1654.

AT length the Prince of Condé resolved upon a war, which he should have commenced at the time of the Fronde, if he aimed at becoming master of the State; or have never undertaken, if he had been a good subject. He left Paris, and went to stir up Guienne, Poitou and Anjou, and to solicit against France the power of Spain, to which he had been so lately a most formidable enemy.

Nothing can more strongly mark the madness of the times, and the fortuitousness which then governed most of the events, than what happened to this Prince, just at that crisis. The Queen sent an express after him from Paris, with such proposals as would have induced him to return and lay down his arms. The Courier made a mistake, and instead of going to Angerville, where the Prince was, he went to Augerville; so that the letter came to hand too late. Condé said, that had he received it sooner, he would have accepted the proposition of peace; but having by that time got at such a distance from Paris, it was not worth the trouble of returning. Thus did the blunder of a Courier, and the mere caprice of the Prince, replunge France into a civil war again.

Upon this occasion, the Cardinal, who from the extremity of his exile at Cologne had still governed the Court, re-entered the Kingdom, not like a Minister coming to re-assume his post, but rather as a Sovereign who was come to re-take the possession of his dominions; for he was attended by a small army of about seven thousand men, levied at his own expence; or it might be said, rather at that of France with the public money, which he had made private property of.

It was told the King in a proclamation upon that occasion, that the Cardinal had really levied these forces,

at his own cost; which contradicts the assertions of those who have written, that on his leaving the Kingdom, he was not master of a fund to yield him necessary support.

He made Marshal Hocquincourt General of his little army. All the Officers wore green scarfs, the colour of the Cardinal's livery. Each party was distinguished by its scarf. The King's was white, and the Prince of Condé's *Isabelle**. It was matter of surprize that Cardinal Mazarin, who had, till then, affected so much modesty, should presume to make an army wear his livery, as if he had a distinct interest in the State from his master. But he could not resist the vain temptation. This was the very thing that had been done before, by the Marshal D'Ancre, and which did not a little contribute to his ruin. But the same insolence succeeded with the Cardinal. The Queen approved it, and the King, then of age †, attended by his brother, went forth to meet him.

On the first account of his return, Gaston, Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII. who had demanded the banishment of Mazarin, raised troops in Paris, without knowing how to employ them. The Parliament renewed its arrêts, outlawed the Cardinal, and offered a reward for his head. The records were searched, to see what price was fixed on the head ^{December,} of an enemy to the Kingdom; and it being ^{1651.} found, that in the reign of Charles IX. the sum of fifty thousand crowns had been voted in Parliament, to whomsoever should bring in Admiral Coligny ‡ alive or dead; it was thought proper, by way of acting according to precedent, to proffer the same recompence to any one who would assassinate the Cardinal Prime Minister.

This proclamation, however, did not tempt any one to earn these fifty thousand crowns, and which, if they

* The Isabelle colour is a sort of light bay.

† In his thirteenth year. The Kings of France are allowed of age then.

‡ His crime was turning Protestant; and the persecution he suffered on that account, forced him, in self-defence, to take part with the Huguenots. He escaped from this proclamation, but afterwards was one of the victims at the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

had, would never have been paid. In any other nation, or at any other time, such a bribe would have found an assassin; but it served then only as a subject for mirth and ridicule. The *Blots* and the *Marignys*, wits and jokers of those days, who were gay and idle enough to laugh and sport in the midst of tumults and discord, posted up in Paris an advertisement offering the sum of a hundred and fifty thousand crowns, to be divided in such and such proportions; so much for cutting off the Cardinal's nose, so much for an ear, so much for an eye, so much for rendering him an eunuch, &c.

This piece of ridicule was the only effect produced by the proscription against the person of the Minister; but his moveables and his library were confiscated, by a second arrêt; and the money arising from the sale, and designed to go in aid of the assassinating fee, was embezzled by the receivers, as was that of all the taxes levied at that time.

The Cardinal, on his part, employed neither poison nor assassination against his enemies; and notwithstanding the malignity and madness of so many parties and animosities, they committed not such enormous crimes, the principals were less cruel, and the people less furious, than in the time of the League; for this was not a religious war*.

The strange stupidity that predominated at
December, that time, possessed the whole body of the
1651. Parliamēt of Paris so much, that after hav-
ing formally proclaimed an assassination which every
body laughed at, it made an arrêt, by which several of
their Counsellors were ordered to proceed towards the
frontiers, to take measures against the army of Cardinal
Mazarin, that is, to oppose the Royal forces.

Two of these Counsellors were inconsiderate enough
to collect together a number of peasants, and break down

* This is the manner of Voltaire. Such dissingenuous sarcasm runs through all his writings, upon this subject. He affects to impute the common frailties, vices and corruptions of men, to the principle merely pretended for their actions. The Inquisition, for instance, is not a religious, but a political institution,

Some of the bridges, over which the Cardinal was preparing to pass. One of them, named Bitaut, was immediately taken prisoner by the King's troops, released through indulgence, and made the jest of all parties.

In the mean time the King being then of age, dissolved the Parliament at Paris, and transferred it to Pontoise. Forty of the Members who were attached to the Court, obeyed the mandate, August 6,
1652. but the rest refused to submit. Behold now two Parliaments in the same body, who, to complete the confusion of the times, issued arrêts against one another, as in the times of Henry IV. and of Charles VI.

At the same time that this body proceeded to extremities against the King's Minister, they declared the Prince of Condé guilty of high-treason, who had only taken arms against that very Minister; and from the most unaccountable absurdity imaginable, but the belief of which all their former proceedings may justify, it ordered the new-raised troops of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, to march against Mazarin, and at the same time forbade a shilling to be issued out of the public treasury to maintain them.

Nothing better was to be expected from a set of Magistrates, who, acting out of their sphere, and ignorant either of their rights, of their powers, and of all matters both of politics or war, assembled themselves and decided every thing in tumult; declaring frequently on the side of parties that they had not even thought of the day before; and at which they were themselves astonished, immediately after.

The Parliament of Bourdeaux took part, at this time, with the Prince of Condé; but it preserved a more uniform conduct: because, from its being further removed from the Court, it was less embroiled with contending factions. But more considerable objects now began to interest all France.

Condé having confederated with the Spaniards, took the field against the King; and Turenne having quitted those same Spaniards with whom he had been beaten at Rethel, had reconciled himself to the Court, and again

commanded the royal army. The narrowness of their finances permitted neither of the parties to support large armies, but small ones no less decided the fate of the Kingdom. There are times when a hundred thousand men may not be able to take one or two towns; and there are others, when a battle between seven or eight thousand shall overthrow or establish a Throne.

Louis XIV. nursed in adversity, with his mother, his brother, and Cardinal Mazarin, wandered from Province to Province, having hardly more troops attending him, than he used afterwards to have, even in times of peace, for his sole guard; while five or six thousand men, part Spanish troops, and the rest levied by the partisans of the Prince of Condé, pursued him into the very heart of his own Kingdom.

The Prince of Condé, in the mean time, marched from Bourdeaux to Montauban, took the towns in his way, and every where increased his strength.

All the hopes of the Court were placed on Turenne. The royal army was stationed at Gien upon the Loire. The troops of the Prince of Condé were encamped within a few miles of it, under the command of the Duke of Nemours, and the Duke of Beaufort. The dissensions between these two Generals had like to have proved fatal to the Prince's party. The Duke of Beaufort was incapable of any military command; and the Duke of Nemours was esteemed rather as an amiable man, and a gallant soldier, than as an expert officer; so that between them they very near ruined the army. The soldiers knew that the Great Condé was at a hundred miles distance, and were fallen into despair, when, at midnight, a Courier arrived in the Forest of Orleans, and presented himself before the advanced guard. The centinels at once discovered this Courier to be the Prince of Condé in person, who had come post from Agen, in disguise, through many perils, to put himself at the head of his army.

His appearance did much, and his unhopèd arrival had a still better effect. He knew that whatever is sudden and unexpected, is apt to transport us. He profited
on

on the instant of the confidence and the spirit which his presence had inspired. The distinguishing talent of this Prince in war, was the forming promptly the most daring resolves, and the executing them with as much conduct as vigour.

The royal army was divided into two bodies. Condé engaged the corps that was posted at Blenau, commanded by Marshal d'Hocquincourt, and this corps was routed almost as soon as attacked. Turenne could not be apprized of it. Cardinal Mazarin, in a terror, fled to Gien, in the middle of the night, to awaken the King, who was in bed, and acquaint him with the ill news. His little Court were thrown into consternation. They proposed to save the King by flight, and to conduct him privately to Bourges. The Prince of Condé, victorious, approached to Gien, and augmented their dread and despair. Turenne raised their spirits by his intrepidity, and saved the Court by his admirable conduct. He stationed the few troops he had left, with so much generalship, and made such advantage of the ground and the time, that he prevented Condé from further profiting of his success. It was difficult then to determine which of the two acquired the greatest honour; Condé by the victory, or Turenne in depriving him of the fruits of it. It is true, that in this battle of Blenau, so long famous in France, there were not above four hundred men slain; but the Prince of Condé was not the less near the point of rendering himself master of all the Royal Family, and getting his enemy Cardinal Mazarin in his power. One can hardly recollect an instance of greater interests, or a more pressing danger, dependent on so inconsiderable an action.

Condé, who did not flatter himself to surprise Turenne, as he had done Hocquincourt, set forward with his army towards Paris. He hastened to that city, there to enjoy his glory, and to avail himself of the favourable dispositions of an intimated people. The admiration the people were struck with, on account of this last engagement, the particulars of which were exaggerated; the hatred they

they bore to Mazarin; with the fame and presence of the Great-Condé, seemed, for a time, to render him absolute master of the capital. But in fact all their minds were divided; and each party was subdivided into factions; which is generally the case in all domestic troubles*.

The Coadjutor de Retz, now a Cardinal, and reconciled, though only in appearance, to the Court, which feared him, and in which he had no confidence, was no longer a demagogue of the people, nor bore a principal sway in their assemblies. He governed the Duke of Orleans, and opposed Condé. The Parliament fluctuated between the Court, the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince, though the whole popular clamour was unanimous against Mazarin. Each of the parties privately attended to its own interest; and the people were a boisterous sea, whose waves were driven different ways by so many contrary winds. The shrine of St. Genevieve was carried in procession through the streets of Paris, to obtain the expulsion of Cardinal Mazarin; and the common people were as confident of her working this miracle for them, as they were that she would cause it to rain †.

Nothing was talked of but negotiations between the chiefs of the parties, deputations from the Parliament, assemblies of the Chambers, seditions among the populace, and the country in military array. They mounted guard at the gates of the monasteries. The Prince had called in the Spaniards to his aid. Charles IV. Duke of Lorraine, who had been driven out of his dominions, and whose only remaining property was an army of eight thousand men, which he annually hired out to the King of Spain, marched these troops to Paris. But Cardinal Mazarin gave him better pay to return again, than the Prince of Condé had been able to give him for coming; and the Duke of Lorraine consequently soon

* It must always be so; for in intestine commotions, a nation cannot be united by one common interest, as they are, when a foreign enemy becomes the object.

† This Saintess is always invoked in France, upon occasions of great drought.

quitted

quitted France, ravaging the country in his route, and carrying off the pay of both parties.

Condé now remained in Paris, with a decreasing power, and an army still more weak. Turenne conducted the King and his Court towards the capital. The King, then fifteen years old, was a spectator, from the hill of Charonne, of the battle of St. Antony*, in which these two generals, with only handfuls of troops, performed such exploits; that the reputation of each, before thought incapable of increase, became augmented by them. July 1652.

The Prince of Condé, with a few Lords of his party, and a small number of soldiers, sustained and repulsed the charge of the whole royal army. The King and Mazarin viewed the action from an eminence. The Duke of Orleans, uncertain what side to declare for, kept himself quiet in his Palace of Luxemburg. Cardinal de Retz remained cantoned in his diocese. The Parliament waited the issue of the battle, to know what arrêts to make. The Queen in tears was on her knees in the Carmelite Chapel. The people, who then equally feared the troops of the King and of the Prince, had shut up the gates of the city, and would not suffer a single person to enter or go out, while the greatest personages of France were furiously engaged in battle against each other, and shedding their blood in the suburbs. It was there that the Duke of Rochefaucault, so illustrious for his wit and bravery, received a wound over his eyes, which deprived him of sight for some time. A nephew of Cardinal Mazarin's was killed in the action, and the people considered this as some revenge. It was a shocking sight to see numbers of young men of rank and fashion carried off killed or wounded, to St. Antony's Gate, and refused entrance.

At length Mademoiselle †, the daughter of Gaston, taking part with Condé, which her father was afraid to

* One of the gates of Paris, in the suburbs of which this battle was fought.

† De Montpensier.

do, ordered the Gate to be opened to the wounded, and had the rashness to order the cannon of the Bastile to be fired upon the King's troops. The royal army was obliged to retire: Condé gained nothing but glory; but Mademoiselle lost herself for ever, in the affections of the King her cousin, by the outrageousness of this action; and Cardinal Mazarin, who knew the ambition of that Princess to espouse a crowned head, said then, "Those cannon have killed her husband."

The generality of Historians here make a display to their readers of nothing but battles, and great feats of courage, or policy, performed in the field, or the Cabinet; but those who know what shameful shifts were resorted to, in what misery the whole people were involved, and to what mean practices the principals themselves were reduced, must reflect on the heroes of that time with more compassion than admiration.

One may be able to form a judgment of these distresses, even from a few particulars confessed by Gourville*, who was attached to the Prince of Condé. He acknowledges that he himself, in the exigencies of the cause, was obliged to embezzle a sum of money he had received for another purpose; and that he seized a Collector of the Post-tax in his own house, and made him pay a ransom. He speaks of such matters as meer things of course in those unhappy times.

The pound of bread was then sold in Paris at the price of twenty-four of our sours†. The people suffered; there were not alms sufficient for the poor; and many of the Provinces felt a famine.

Could any thing be more shocking than what passed during this war before Bourdeaux? A gentleman was taken by the royal forces, and they cut off his head on the instant. The Duke of Rochefoucault made immediate reprisal, by hanging up a gentleman, prisoner, of the King's party: and yet this same Duke of Rochefoucault passed for a great philosopher. But the horror

* In his Memoirs.

† A sou is a ^{half} penny.

of such actions was qualified, on considering the great interests of the party chiefs*.

But, at the same time, could there be any thing more ridiculous than to behold the Great Condé kiss the shrine of St. Geneviève, in a procession, rub his rosary against it, and then hold it up to the people? And does not such mummery shew how much your heroes are obliged to condescend and court the mob †?

Neither decency nor decorum were preserved, either in their words or actions. Omer Talon relates ‡, that he heard some of the Counsellors, in their Parliamentary debates, speaking of the Cardinal Prime Minister, call him a scoundrel. One of the Members, named Quatre Sous, openly abused the Prince of Condé, in full Parliament. Nor did they stop here. They used to kick and cuff each other, in the very Court of Sessions.

They came to blows in the Chapel of Notre-Dame, on a dispute about precedency between the President of the Inquests and the Dean of the Great Chamber, in 1644; and the women of the populace were suffered, in 1645, to get within the bar of the Court, begging on their knees that the Parliament might be made to rescind the new taxes then imposed.

Such disorder and confusion, of every kind, continued from 1644 'till the year 1653; beginning at first without tumult, but ending, at last, in a general sedition, from one end of the Kingdom to the other.

The Great Condé forgot himself so far, as to strike the Count de Rieux, son to the Prince d'Elbeuf, at the Duke of Orleans'; which was not the way to regain the hearts of the Parisians. The Count de Rieux returned the blow to the victor of Rocroi,

1652.

* "The justice of the cause is lost in the magnitude of the object," said a modern great Law Lord, in an argument upon the American war. Political and religious maxims differ, it seems. "Thou shalt not do evil, even though good should come of it."

† This was not the character that was given of this Prince, a few pages before. "The Prince of Condé might have governed the State, if he would only have condescended to use the address of rendering himself agreeable; but he chose only to be admired." See Page 49, last paragraph.

‡ In his Memoirs.

of Fribourg, of Nœrlingen, and of Lens. This strange affair ended in nothing. Monsieur * sent the son of the Duke d'Elbeuf to the Bastile, for a few days, and there the matter rested.

The quarrel between the Duke of Beaufort and the Duke of Nemours, his brother-in-law, was a more serious business. They fought a duel, with four seconds on each side. The Duke of Nemours was killed by the Duke of Beaufort; and the Marquis de Villars, surnamed *Orondates*, who seconded Nemours, killed his antagonist Héricourt, whom he had never seen before.

There was not even the shadow of justice in those times. Duels were frequent, depredations continual, and debaucheries practised in the most barefaced manner; but, in the midst of all these disorders, there still subsisted a gaiety, which rendered them less dismal.

After the bloody, but ineffectual, battle of St. Antony, the King could not enter Paris, and the Prince could not long remain there. A popular insurrection, and the massacre of several of the citizens, of which he was supposed to be the author, rendered him odious to the people. However, he had still his faction in the Parliament. That body, little awed then by a vagrant Court, driven as it were from its capital, overpowered by the cabals of the Duke of Orleans, and of the Prince, appointed by an arrêt the Duke of Orleans Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, though
 July 20, 1652. the King was in his majority. This was the same title they had given to the Duke of Mayenne, in the time of the League. The Prince of Condé was also declared Generalissimo of the armies. The two Parliaments of Paris and Pontoise, contesting each other's authority, issuing arrêts against each other, and by such confusion rendering themselves the contempt of the nation, agreed however in one point, the calling aloud for the expulsion of Mazarin; so much the hatred conceived against that Minister, seemed then to be the essential characteristic of a Frenchman.

* The Duke of Orleans, so styled, as 'tis the title of the King of France's brother, which he was to Louis XIII.

All parties, at this time, were weak; that of the Court as much so as the rest; money and men were deficient to them all; factions however still multiplied; and their battles produced on each side only losses and regrets. The Court found itself, at last, under the necessity of sacrificing Mazarin once more, who was deemed by the public voice the cause of these troubles, though he was only the pretence. He left the Kingdom a second time; and to increase the reproach of this measure in the Court, the King, in the very rescript of his banishment, publicly commended his services, and regretted his exile.

Aug. 12,
1652.

Charles I. King of England, lost his head upon a scaffold, for having, at the commencement of his troubles, sacrificed the life of his friend Strafford to his Parliament. Louis XIV. on the contrary, became the peaceable master of his Kingdom, by suffering the banishment of Mazarin: so that the same weakness had very different effects. The King of England, by abandoning his favourite, emboldened a people who were impatient for war, and who hated Kings. Louis XIV. or rather the Queen-mother, in banishing the Cardinal, took away all pretence for revolt, from a people tired of the war, and who were fond of royalty.

The Cardinal had scarcely set out for Bouillon, the place of his new retreat, when the citizens of Paris, from their own free motion, sent a deputation to the King, to pray his return into his capital. He accordingly made his public entry; and every thing appeared so peaceable, that it was hardly to be imagined that a few days before every thing had been in confusion.

Oct. 20,
1652.

Gaston d'Orleans, unhappy in his enterprizes, which he never knew how to conduct, was exiled to Blois, where he passed the remainder of his life in repentance. He was the second son of Henry the Great who lived and died without much glory*. Cardinal de Retz, per-

* M. Voltaire seems a little to forget himself here. He gave a very different character of this personage, before; in these words: "The Duke of Orleans, brother to Louis XIII. had so well sustained the character

haps as indiscreet as daring and ambitious, was arrested at the Louvre; and after being carried from prison to prison, led a long time a vagabond life; which he finished, at length, in a retreat, where he acquired those virtues, which his active spirit had kept him a stranger to, during the agitations of his fortune.

Some of the Counsellors who had been the greatest delinquents in their administration, were only punished with exile; others restrained themselves within the business of their employments; and some of the rest were brought back to their duty, by an annual stipend of five hundred crowns, which Fouquet, Procurator-General, and Superintendent of the Finances, paid them privately*.

The Prince of Condé, however, forsaken in France by all his partisans, and but ill assisted by Spain, continued an unhappy war on the frontiers of Champagne. Some factions still subsisted in Bourdeaux; but they were soon after appeased.

This calm in the Kingdom was an effect of the banishment of Cardinal Mazarin; notwithstanding which, scarce was he exiled by the general outcry of all France, and by a mandate from the King, when Louis XIV. recalled him again. He was astonished at seeing himself re-enter Paris in perfect tranquility, and with as much power as ever. Louis XIV. received him like a father, and the people as a Master. An entertainment was made for him at the Hôtel-de-Ville, in the midst of the acclamations of the citizens; and he threw money to the populace. But they say, that in the midst of his joy upon this happy reverse of fortune, he marked a contempt for our inconstancy. The Parliament, which had so lately proclaimed a reward for his head, as if he had been an outlawed robber, now strove who should be foremost to solicit his Patronage; and that very Parliament, imme-

* character of a son of Henry IV. and the honour of France, by his conquest of Gravelines, Courtray, and Mardyke." See Page 31.

* Memoirs of Gourville.

diately after, condemned the Prince of Condé to death, for contumacy*. Such changes are frequent in such times as those; but the more humiliating to the Judges themselves, as they are obliged to censure so severely the very person, of whose treason they were themselves equally sharers and abettors.

March 27,
1653.

The Cardinal, who urged this sentence against Condé, married one of his nieces to the Prince of Conti, his brother; which sufficiently proved that this Minister's power was without controul.

The King reunited the Parliaments of Paris and of Pontoise, and prohibited the assemblies of the Chambers. The Parliament remonstrated, one of the Counsellors was sent to prison, and others were sent into exile. The Parliament became mute, and things began to wear a new face throughout.

C H A P. VI.

*The State of France until the Death of Cardinal Mazarin,
in 1661.*

WHILE the State had been so divided within, it was attacked and enfeebled from without. All the fruits of the battles of Rocroi, of Lens, and of Norlingen, were lost. The important town of Dunkirk was retaken by the Spaniards; they drove the French out of Barcelona, and recovered Casal in Italy.

However, notwithstanding the tumults of a domestic war, and the heavy weight of a foreign one, Cardinal Mazarin had the address and good fortune to conclude the famous peace of Westphalia †, by which the Emperor and the Empire sold to the King and Crown of France the sovereignty of Alsace for

* A Law term for non-appearance to answer a charge, on a legal summons.

† Called also that of Munster.

three millions of livres, payable to the Archduke; that is to say, for about six millions of our present currency.

By this treaty, which became the groundwork of all future ones, a new Electorate was created for the House of Bavaria. The rights of all the Princes and the Imperial Cities, with the privileges of the lesser classes, were therein ascertained and confirmed. The power of the Emperor was restrained within narrow bounds, and the French, in conjunction with the Swedes, became the legislators of the Empire.

This glory to France was, at least in part, owing to the arms of Sweden. Gustavus-Adolphus had first shaken the Empire, and his Generals still pursued the blow, under the reign of his daughter Christina. Her General Wrangel was on the point of entering Austria; Count Konigsmark was in possession of one-half of Prague, and was besieging the other, when this peace was concluded. To bring the Emperor to such terms, cost France only about a million a year subsidy to Sweden.

Sweden likewise gained by these treaties much greater advantages than France. She got possession of Pomerania, and many other places, besides a considerable sum of money. She obliged the Emperor to cede to the Lutherans, the patronage of several benefices that were formerly in the possession of Roman Catholics. Rome exclaimed against such a piece of sacrilege, saying that the cause of God was betrayed; while the Protestants boasted that the peace was sanctified by stripping the Papists. Their own interests naturally determine the opinions of men.

Spain declined being a party in this peace, and for very political reasons: for seeing France involved in civil wars, the Spanish Minister hoped to derive some advantages from the divisions of the Kingdom. The German forces being disbanded, became a new resource to Spain. The Emperor, since the peace of Munster, had marched near thirty thousand men into Flanders, in about four years time. This was a violation of the

treaty. But such compacts are rarely more faithfully observed.

The Spanish Ministers had the prudence, on the commencement of the negotiations of Westphalia, to strike up a separate peace with Holland. The Spanish Monarchy was wise enough, at last, to consider no longer as enemies, and to acknowledge for sovereigns, those very people, whom it had for so long a time treated as rebels, and unworthy of pardon; and those Republican States increased their riches, and confirmed their tranquility and grandeur, by coming into terms with Spain, without falling out with France.

They became so powerful, that in a war they engaged in some time after with England, they had at sea a hundred ships of the line; and the victory was frequently doubtful between the English Admiral Blake and the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp, who were at sea, what Condé and Turenne were at land. France, at that time, had not ten vessels that could mount fifty guns fit to be sent out of their harbour; and her marine was declining daily.

Louis XIV. found himself, in 1653, absolute master of a Kingdom still tottering with the convulsions it had sustained; labouring under disorders in every branch of the Administration, but with great resources in itself; having no ally, except Savoy, to assist in an offensive war, but having no longer any foreign enemy except Spain, which was at that time in a weaker condition than France. All the French who had been active in the civil wars had submitted, except the Prince of Condé, and a few of his partisans; one or two of whom continued faithful to him through friendship, or greatness of soul, as the Counts of Coligni and Bouteville; and the rest, because the Court did not think them worth purchasing at their own price.

Condé, become General of the Spanish forces, found himself unable to recruit an army, which he had himself rendered weak, by the ruin of their infantry, in the actions of Rocroi and Lens. He led on new-raised troops, which he had not time to train, against the veteran

teran regiments of France, which he had taught to conquer under him, and which were now headed by Turenne.

The fate of Turenne and of Condé was, to be always successful, when they fought at the head of the French troops; and to be beaten, when they commanded the Spanish forces. Turenne barely saved the remains of the Spanish army at the battle of Rethel, when, from being General to the King of France, he condescended to become Lieutenant to a Spanish General*. The Prince of Condé had the same ill fortune, before Arras.

The Archduke and he laid siege to that city. Turenne besieged them in their camp, and forced Aug. 25, their lines. The troops of the Archduke 1654. were put to flight. Condé, with only two regiments of French and Lorrainers, sustained alone the efforts of Turenne and his army; and while the Archduke fled; defeated the Marshal d' Hocquincourt, repulsed the Marshal de la Ferté, and retired in a manner victorious, by covering the retreat of the beaten Spaniards. The King of Spain wrote a billet, upon that occasion, in these words: "I have learned that every thing was lost, but that you have recovered all again."

It is hard to say what the good or ill success of battles is owing to. But it is certain that Condé was one of the most eminent genius's in war that ever appeared, and that the Archduke and his Council opposed every measure; that day, that was proposed by Condé.

Arras relieved, the Spanish lines forced, and the Archduke put to flight, crowned Turenne with glory; but 'tis worthy of notice, that in the letter written in the King's name to the Parliament †, on occasion of this victory, the intire success of the campaign was imputed to Cardinal Mazarin, and the name of Turenne not even mentioned in it. The Cardinal, 'tis true, had

* Don Estevan de Gamarra.

† Dated from Vincennes, September 11, 1654.

been posted some leagues from Arras with the King, and had also been in the camp at the siege of Stenai, which Turenne carried, in his march to the relief of Arras. There had likewise been some councils of war held in his presence. Upon these pretences, he challenged to himself all the honour of the events; but the vanity of these pretensions brought upon him such a weight of ridicule, as all the power of his ministry was not sufficient to support him under.

The King was not at the action of Arras, though he might have been present. He had been in the trenches before Stenai; but Cardinal Mazarin would not suffer him further to expose his person, on which the safety of the State, and the power of the Minister, so much depended.

Mazarin; on one side, absolute master of France, and of the young King; and on the other, Don Lewis de Haro, who governed Spain and Philip IV. continued, under the names of their respective sovereigns, this war, which was but feebly supported. The name of Louis XIV. was not yet much spoken of in the world, and the King of Spain was never so much as mentioned. There was at that time only one sovereign in Europe that had any personal character. This was Christina, Queen of Sweden, who governed alone, and sustained the honour of a throne which was neglected, disgraced, or unknown, in every other State.

Charles II. King of England, a fugitive in France, with his mother and brother, there amused his misfortunes and his hopes. A private individual had subdued England, Scotland, and Ireland. Cromwell, an usurper worthy of a crown*, had taken the title of Protector, and not that of King; for the English knew how far the rights of a King extended, but were unacquainted with the limits of a Protector's authority.

He confirmed his power by knowing how to relax it, as occasion served; he encroached not upon the privi-

* This is the second compliment of the kind Voltaire has paid him. See before the last lines of his account of England, in his *States of Europe*.

Stenai help of Cromwell

leges of the people, which they were jealous of *; billeted no soldiers in the city of London; imposed no taxes they could murmur at; offended not their eyes with princely pomp; indulged himself in no pleasures; hoarded up no treasure; and distributed justice with that strict and impartial hand, which distinguishes not the Great from the Small.

† The brother of Pantaleon Sâ, Ambassador from Portugal to England, presuming that his irregularities would escape unpunished, because the person of his brother was sacred †, insulted some of the citizens of London, and had one of them assassinated, in revenge for the resistance of the rest. For this fact he was tried and condemned to be hanged. Cromwell, who had the power of pardoning him, suffered the law to take its course, and the same day signed a treaty with the Ambassador.

Never was commerce so free and flourishing; never was England so rich. Her victorious fleets rendered her name respected throughout all nations; while Mazarin, solely occupied in adding to his sway and his riches, suffered in France the justice, the commerce, the marine, and even the finances of the Kingdom to languish. Master of France as much as Cromwell was of England, after the civil war was at an end, he might have done for the country he governed, every thing that Cromwell had done for his. But he was a foreigner; and the soul of Mazarin, though it had not the barbarity, possessed not the greatness of that of Cromwell.

All the States of Europe, which had despised the alliance of England under James and Charles I. solicited it under the Protector. Even Queen Christina, though she abhorred the murder of Charles I. entered into a league with a tyrant whom she esteemed.

Mazarin and Don Lewis de Haro made use of all their political craft to be received as allies by the Pro-

* M. Voltaire seems rather too partial to this usurper; and sets history at nought, to compliment him.

† By the Law of Nations,

Don Lewis de Haro

tektor. He indulged himself for some time in the vanity of seeing himself courted by two of the most powerful States in Christendom.

The Spanish Minister offered to assist him in taking Calais; and Mazarin proposed to besiege Dunkirk, and put him in possession of that town. Cromwell had then his choice between the keys of France and of Flanders. He was also much courted by Condé; but he did not chuse to negotiate with a Prince who was in possession of nothing but a name, who was without support in France, and without power in Spain.

The Protector at length determined the point in favour of France, but without entering into any particular treaty, or parcelling out their conquests before-hand. He was desirous of rendering his usurpation illustrious by more signal enterprizes. His intention was to conquer Mexico from the Spaniards; but they happened to get a timely hint of it. However, Cromwell's fleet took Jamaica from them, which the English have kept the possession of ever since, and which secures their commerce in the New World. May 1655.

It was not 'till after the conquest of Jamaica, that Cromwell signed his treaty with the King of France, but without saying a word of Dunkirk, at the time. The Protector treated with him on the foot of equality. He obliged the King to give him the title of Brother, in his letters; and his Secretary signed before the Plenipotentiary of France, the minute of the treaty that was to be preserved in England. But he acted truly like a superior, in obliging the King of France to banish out of his dominions Charles II. and the Duke of York, grand-children of Henry IV. to whom France owed an asylum. A greater sacrifice of honour could not be made to fortune. 1655.

While Mazarin was perfecting this treaty, Charles II. solicited one of his nieces in marriage; but the bad situation of his affairs, which prompted the Prince to such a measure, was the reason of his meeting with a denial. It was even suspected, that the Cardinal had formed the design of marrying to Cromwell's son the niece he had

refused to the King of England. This is certain, however, that afterwards, upon finding the recovery of his rights became a less desperate hope in Charles II. he wanted to renew the proposal; but it was then declined in turn.

The mother of these two Princes*, Henrietta of France, daughter of Henry the Great, living in France without resources, was reduced to the necessity of soliciting the Cardinal to obtain her dower, at least, from Cromwell. This must have been an extreme of the most mortifying humiliations, to be obliged to beg for subsistence from the man who had spilled her husband's blood upon a scaffold. Mazarin made but feeble instances in England, in the name of that Queen, and then told her he could not prevail. She remained in Paris in great poverty, and under the disgrace of having implored the compassion of Cromwell; while her sons were obliged to enter into the armies of Condé and of Don John of Austria, to learn the art of war against France, which had forsaken them.

The children of Charles I. being thus driven out of France, took refuge in Spain. The Spanish Ministers exclaimed in all the Courts of Europe, and particularly at Rome, both by speech and writing, against a Cardinal who sacrificed, they cried, the laws divine and human, honour and religion, to the murderer of a King; and who banished out of France Charles II. and the Duke of York, cousins of Louis XIV. to oblige the executioner of their father. The only reply that was made to these outcries of the Spanish Court, was to produce the offers they had made themselves to the Protector.

The war was carried on in Flanders with various success. Turenne having besieged Valenciennes, with the Marshal de la Ferté, experienced the same disappointment that Condé had met with before Arras.

July 17, 1656. The Prince, seconded then by Don John of Austria, more worthy to fight by his side than the Archduke was, forced the Marshal de la Fer-

* Charles and James Stuart.

té's lines, took him prisoner, and delivered Valenciennes. Turenne did then what Condé had done before, on a similar occasion. He saved the beaten army, and every-where made head against the enemy: He even in a month after went to besiege and take the little town of La Chapelle. This, perhaps, was the first time that ever a routed army had dared to undertake a siege.

This march of Turenne, so much commended, after which he took La Chapelle, was eclipsed by one of more éclat, of the Prince of Condé. Turenne had scarcely sat down before Cambray, ^{May 30,} 1658. when Condé at the head of only two thousand horse, forced his way through the army of the besiegers, and having defeated all that opposed him, threw himself into the city. The inhabitants received their deliverer on their knees. Thus these two great men, opposed to each other, displayed the utmost powers of their genius. They were equally admired in their retreats, as well as in their victories, in their good conduct, and even in their oversights, which they had always the address to repair. Their talents put a stop, by turns, to the progress of each monarchy; but the disorder in the finances of Spain and France was still a greater obstacle to the success of either.

The league entered into with Cromwell gave France, at length, a distinguished superiority. On one side, Admiral Blake went and burnt the Spanish galleons, near the Canary Islands, and thus destroyed the only resources with which the war was to be supported. On the other hand, twenty English men of war went and blocked up the port of Dunkirk; and six thousand veteran troops, which had effected the revolution of England, were brought over to reinforce the army under Turenne.

Thus was Dunkirk, the most important place in Flanders, besieged both by land and sea. Condé and Don John of Austria, having collected together all their forces, marched to its relief. All Europe was attentive to the event. Cardinal Mazarin brought Louis XIV. near
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THE AGE OF LOUIS XIV.

cumstances of his finances, and the vanity of the Cardinal, who would assume all splendor and authority to himself.

Louis only entered Dunkirk to deliver it into the possession of Lord Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador. Mazarin endeavoured by some finesse to elude the treaty, and not surrender the place. But Lockhart threatened, and English sturdiness prevailed over Italian chicanery.

Many have affirmed, that the Cardinal, who had imputed the taking of Arras to his own conduct, endeavoured to persuade Turenne to resign to him also the honour of the affair of Dunes. Du Bec-Crepin, Count of Moret, came, they say, from the Minister, to propose to the General to write a letter, by which it might appear that the Cardinal had himself arranged the whole plan of the operations. Turenne rejected the proposition with just contempt, scorning to suffer a falsehood to obtain which would have been disgraceful to the soldier, and ridiculous in the church-man. The same weakness that prompted Mazarin to make the overture, made him conceive an enmity against Turenne which continued till his death.

In the midst of this first triumph, the King fell ill at Calais, and remained for many days in a dangerous state. Immediately all the Courtiers turned their attention towards Monsieur his brother. Mazarin exerted his arts, his flatteries, and his promises, upon the Marshal Du Pleffis-Praslin, the old governor of that Prince, and upon the Count of Guiche, his favourite.

A party was formed in Paris bold enough to write to Calais against the Cardinal, who was taking his measures for quitting the Kingdom, and conveying his immense riches into some place of safety. An Empirick of Abbeville cured the King with an emetic wine, which the Court-physicians looked upon to be a poison. This good man sat on the side of the King's bed, and said, "The young man is very ill, but he shall not die." As soon as he began to recover, the Cardinal exiled all those who had caballed against him.

the ^{to it} 15, ⁶⁵8. A few months after, died Cromwell, at the age of fifty-five*, in the career of the projects he was forming, both for the con-

wellnation of his power, and for the glory of the nation. his had humbled Holland, imposed a treaty on Portugal, to-anquished Spain, and obliged France to solicit his alliance. He said, a little before he expired, upon hearing with what haughtineis his Admirals had behaved at Lisbon, "I would have the English Republic as much respected as ever the Roman Commonwealth was."

His physicians announced his death to himself; but I do not believe what has been said, that in that moment he acted the enthusiast and the prophet, declaring that God would work a miracle in his favour. Thurloe, his secretary, says, that he only replied, "Nature can do more than physicians." This expression was not that of a prophet, but of a man of common sense. Probably thinking that his Doctors might be mistaken, he meant, in case of his recovery, to assume the credit of having predicted his cure, in order to render, by that pretence, his person more respectable, and even more sacred.

He was buried with all the pomp of legitimate majesty, and left behind him, in Europe, the character of an intrepid man, sometimes fanatic, sometimes knavish, and of an usurper who knew how to reign.

Sir William Temple says, that Cromwell had formed a design, some little time before his death, to join with Spain against France, and to get possession of Calais with the assistance of the Spaniards, as he had got Dunkirk by the help of the French. Nothing was more consonant with his character and policy. He would have been the idol of the English, had he thus despoiled, one after another, two nations which they equally hated. But his death put an end to his great designs, to his tyranny, and to the glory of England.

* He was in his sixtieth year; born at Huntingdon, in 1599, and died in 1658. Four or five years in a man's life, is nothing with Voltaire.

Discrepancy in Collected Writings It

It is remarkable that they put on mourning for Cromwell at the Court of France, and that Mademoiselle * was the only person who refused paying that compliment to the memory of a man who had murdered a King † that was her relation ‡.

We have already seen † that Richard Cromwell succeeded peaceably, and without opposition, to the Protectorship of his father, as a Prince of Wales would have done to a King of England. Richard soon made it appear, that the character of a single man often determines the fate of empires. His genius and disposition were the very reverse of his father's. He possessed all the mild virtues of social life, and had none of that intrepid ferocity which makes every thing bend to its own interest. He might have preserved the inheritance gained him by his father's labours, if he had taken away the lives of three or four of the principal Officers in the army who opposed his elevation. But he chose rather to resign the government, than to preserve it by assassinations. He retired and lived a private life, almost unknown, to the age of ninety, in the country of which he had been the Sovereign.

After his abdication of the Protectorship, he went to France; and it is certain, that at Montpellier, the Prince of Conti, brother to the Great Condé, happening one day to be in his company, but without knowing any thing more of him than that he was an Englishman, said, "Your Oliver Cromwell was a great man; but what a pitiful wretch must his son Richard be, not to have known how to enjoy the fruits of his father's crimes!" However, the same Richard lived happy, which was what his father never had done.

Some time before this event, France beheld another example, yet more memorable, of the same contempt for a Throne. Christina, Queen of Sweden, came to Paris. It was certainly matter of wonder to see a young Queen, who, at the age only of twenty-seven, had renounced a

* De Montpensier.

† Her uncle by marriage.

‡ In the foregoing General History.

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to sovereignty, of which she was every way worthy, to enjoy tranquility and freedom.

It is shameful in the Protestant writers * to have presumed to say, without any kind of proof, that she quitted the Crown only because she could not keep it. She had formed this design from the age of twenty, and had kept it maturing in her mind seven years. Such a resolution, so superior to all vulgar notions, and so long meditated on, should stop the mouths of those who reproach her for levity, and an involuntary abdication. One of these charges destroys the other. But it has ever been the fate of whatever is great, to be attacked by persons of little souls.

To judge of the singular genius of this Queen, one need only read her letters. She says, in a letter she wrote to Chanut, formerly Ambassador from France to her, " I have possessed without pride, and resign without regret; have no fears therefore with regard to me. " My happiness depends not upon fortune." She wrote thus to the Prince of Condé: " I hold myself as much " honoured by your esteem, as by the Crown I lately " wore. If after having resigned, you should think me " less worthy of it, I shall then acknowledge that the " tranquility I so much aimed at, has cost me dear: I " shall not, however, repent my having purchased it, " even at the expence of a diadem; and I shall never " obscure the lustre of a deed which appears to myself " so noble, by an ignoble regret. If you condemn " this action, all the apology I have to offer is, that I " should not have contemned the advantages which Fortune had made me mistress of, if I had found them necessary to my happiness; and that I should have pretended even to the Empire of the World, could I have

* She had turned Catholic at Rome, which might perhaps have provoked their righteous spirits to speak so disrespectfully of her. It were a consummation most devoutly to be wished, that Priests of all religions could be taught that their province extends only to the *morals*, not to the *consciences* of men. There would be more of the first in the world, if these presumptuous casuists would leave the latter to shift for itself.

“ been

“ been as well assured of succeeding or dying in the attempt, as the Great Condé might have been.”

Such was the soul of this illustrious personage; and such was her stile in our language, though she seldom spoke it*. She was mistress of eight languages. She had been the disciple and friend of Descartes, who died at Stockholm in her palace, not being able to obtain the smallest pension in France, where even his writings were prohibited, on account of the only good things that were in them †.

She had encouraged all those to come to Sweden, who were capable of affording her instruction. Her mortification at not finding any such persons in her own nation, had given her a disgust at reigning over a people who were merely soldiers. She thought it better to live upon equal terms with persons of reason and reflection, than to hold a superior rank over men without genius or learning. She had studied all the arts, in a region where they were not before known; and her desire was to fix her residence in the midst of them, in Italy. She only went to France to pass through it, as the Sciences were but just dawning there. Her taste determined her to settle at

* M. Voltaire might have remarked on something superior to stile, in this letter. Her saying to Condé, “ That though she had sacrificed her Crown to purchase her tranquility, she should still think even that blessing too dearly earned by the loss of his esteem,” is one of the highest and politest compliments that human wit could frame in any language. The whole letter is admirable.

† M. Voltaire does not tell us what those *good things* were. His philosophy was wretched stuff, with his *vortices* and his *plenum*; so that we are not to look there for any of his *good things*. He was accused of Atheism; but it would not be fair to suppose M. Voltaire picked up his *good things* in those parts of his writings against which this charge was brought, as he defends him from it; and so he does Varni, at the same time (a). Our author is a person of the most universal charity I know. Turks, Jews, and Infidels, are sure to find him a ready advocate. If he is any-where deficient in that great principle, it is towards the Christians. Those he leaves in abler hands. Christ help the poor people, for him.

M. Voltaire differs widely from the Biographer of Descartes, in the article of *no pension*, who says that one of three thousand livres had been settled on him by the King of France, in the year 1647.

(a) See under Descartes, in the foregoing list of Writers.

Rome;

Rome; and in order to accommodate herself to her situation, she forsook the Lutheran Church, and turned Catholic. Indifferent to either one or the other, she made no scruple of conforming, in appearance, to the opinions of the people among whom she was resolved to live*.

She had quitted her Kingdom in 1654, and at Inspruck publicly performed the ceremony of her abdication. She was much admired at the Court of France, tho' there was not a woman to be met with in it, whose sense or talents were equal to her own. The King saw, and paid her due respect, but seldom conversed with her; for being kept in ignorance during his youth, his natural good sense rendered him timid.

The Nobility and Courtiers saw nothing remarkable in this philosophic Queen, except that she danced ill, and did not dress in the French taste. But persons of sense found nothing to condemn in her, except the murder of Monaldeschi, her gentleman-usher †, whom she caused to be put to death at Fontainebleau, in her second journey to France. Whatever crime he had been guilty of against her, she ought, after having renounced her authority, to have applied for justice elsewhere, and not have commanded the execution of it herself. It was not a Queen who punished a subject, but a woman who terminated an affair of gallantry by a murder. It was one Italian that assassinated another by the order of a Swedish woman, in the palace of a King of France. Nobody should suffer punishment but by the laws. Christina even in Sweden would not have had a right to put any one to death; and surely, what would have been a crime at Stockholm, could not be innocent at Fontainebleau. Those who have justified this action, deserve such rulers. The shame and cruelty of this deed tarnished the glory of that philosophy which had prompted her to quit a throne. She would have been punished in England, or in any country where laws are respected; tho'

* According to the proverb: "When you are at Rome, &c".

† Or *equerry*. The French word *ecuyer* signifies either. Monaldeschi is stiled a *Marquis*, in the history of this strange event.

France shut her eyes to this outrage against the authority of the King, against the right of nations, and against all humanity*.

After the death of Cromwell, and the resignation of his son, England remained a year in the confusion of anarchy. Charles Gustavus, on whom Queen Christina had conferred the Kingdom of Sweden, rendered himself formidable in Germany, and the North. The Emperor Ferdinand had died in 1657; but his son Leopold, seventeen years old, though King of Hungary and Bohemia,

* A writer named *La Beaumelle*, who has misrepresented the Age of Louis XIV. and who had his work printed at Francfort, with a parcel of notes equally scandalous and false, says, upon this subject, that Christina had a right to put Monaldeschi to death, because she did not travel *incognito*; and adds, that Peter the Great, coming into a Coffee-house in London quite foaming with rage, because, as he said, one of his Generals had told him a lie, declared that he was almost tempted to cut him in two with a stroke of his sabre; and that an English merchant who was by, told the Czar, that if he had done so, his Majesty would have been condemned to be hanged.

One cannot help being astonished here at the insolent absurdity of such a story. Is it possibly to be supposed that the Czar Peter should publish in a Coffee-house, that any of his Generals had lied to him? Do they cut men in two, now-a days, with one stroke of a sabre? Does an Emperor go and complain to an English merchant that his General had told him a fib? In what language did he speak to this merchant, he that knew not a word of English? How could this Note-writer say, that Christina, after her abdication, had a right to get an Italian to be assassinated at Fontainebleau, and add, by way of proving it, that they would have hanged Peter the Great, in London, for such another feat? We shall be obliged sometimes to contradict the absurdities of this same writer. In matters of history, one should not be too proud to answer him; as there are too many readers who suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the falsties of an Author who writes without shame or reserve. VOLTAIRE.

Christina herself had conceived pretty much the same notion with *La Beaumelle*; for, on being reprehended by the Minister on account of this action, she answered, that "though she had resigned her Crown, she had not divested herself of the sovereign authority over her own domestics." Mazarin, not chusing to involve himself in a quarrel with the King of Sweden, contented himself with only hinting to her Majesty, that her longer residence in France might not be agreeable to the nation; upon which she decamped forthwith.

had not been elected King of the Romans*, in his father's life-time.

Mazarin endeavoured to make Louis XIV. Emperor. This attempt was chimerical; it was requisite either to bully or to bribe the Electors. But France was neither strong enough for the first, nor rich enough for the second purpose: the first overtures, therefore, upon this idea, made at Francfort by the Marshal of Grammont and by Lionne, were withdrawn as soon as proposed. Leopold was elected; and all that the politics of Mazarin could effect, was to enter into a League with the German Princes, to preserve the treaty of Munster, and give a check to the authority of the Emperor over the Empire.

August
1658.

France, after the battle of Dunes, was powerful abroad, by the glory of its arms, and the bad state to which the rest of the nations were reduced; but internally it suffered; it was exhausted of money, and required peace to recruit itself.

* The people, in the Christian Monarchies, have seldom any interest in the wars of their Sovereigns. Mercenary forces levied by the mandate of a Minister, and commanded by a General who implicitly obeys him, make a number of destructive campaigns, while the Kings in whose names they keep the field, have neither hope, nor design, to conquer or retain one another's dominions. The victorious nation receives no profit from the spoils of the vanquished; it pays the whole expence; it suffers equally, in the good or ill success of its arms; and a peace becomes almost as necessary after the most signal victory, as when the enemy has got possession of its frontiers.

Two things were requisite to the Cardinal, to compleat his ministry; to make a peace, and secure the tranquillity of the state, by the marriage of the King. The cabals during his illness, made him sensible how much an heir to the Crown was necessary to the great-

* It is necessary, by the Germanic Constitution called the *Golden Bull*, that any Prince of the Empire be first made King of the Romans, to entitle him to be Emperor.

ness of a Minister. These considerations determined him to negotiate a match for Louis XIV. immediately. Two parties presented themselves to his mind, the daughter of the King of Spain, and the Princess of Savoy. The King's affections were otherwise engaged. He was most extremely in love with Mademoiselle Mancini, one of the Cardinal's nieces. Born with a tender heart, and of a firmness in his purposes, full of passion, and void of experience, he might have been capable of resolving to marry his mistress.

Madame de Motteville, favourite with the Queen-Mother, whose Memoirs carry a great air of veracity, says, that Mazarin was tempted to leave the King's passion to its own course, and place his niece upon the throne. He had already married one of her sisters to the Prince of Conti; another to the Duke de Mercœur; and the niece that Louis XIV. had attached himself to, had been asked in marriage by the King of England*. These were titles, perhaps, which might have justified his ambition.

He had the address to sound the Queen-Mother upon this subject. "I am much afraid," said he, one day; "that the King is violently bent upon marrying my niece." The Queen, who knew the heart of the Minister, was very certain that he wished what he pretended to apprehend. She answered him with the spirit of a Princess of the Austrian blood, the daughter, wife, and mother of Kings, and with that resentment which the Minister had provoked her to, by appearing for some time before to act quite independantly of her; "If the King could be capable of such a meanness, I would put myself, with my second son, at the head of the whole nation, both against him and against you."

Mazarin, it is said, never forgave the Queen this reply; but had the prudence to comply with her sentiments, and even assumed to himself an honour and a merit in opposing the passion of Louis XIV. His power required not the support of a Queen of his own blood.

* Charles II.

He was also diffident of the character of his niece; and thought he should the more firmly establish the influence of his ministry, by avoiding the dangerous vanity of raising his family too high.

In the year 1656, he had sent Lionne to the Spanish Court, to negotiate a peace, and demand the Infanta. But Don Louis de Haro, convinced that however weak Spain was, France was not in a better condition, had rejected the Cardinal's propositions. The Infanta, daughter of the first marriage, was designed for the young Leopold. The King of Spain, Philip IV. had then, by his second marriage, only one son, whose weakly infancy afforded no great prospect of his living. They chose, therefore, that the Infanta, who might probably become the heiress of such considerable dominions, should transfer her rights rather into the House of Austria, than into one that was the enemy of her nation. But soon after, Philip IV. having another son, Don Philip Prosper, and his wife proving again with child, the danger apprehended in giving her to the King of France, appeared to him the less; and the battle of Dunes had rendered the peace necessary.

Spain promised the Infanta, and demanded a ¹⁶⁵⁹ suspension of all hostilities. Mazarin and Don Louis met, on the frontiers of France and Spain, in the Isle of Pheasants*. Though the marriage of a King of France and a general peace were the objects of their conferences, yet more than a month was idly passed in arranging the difficulties which occurred upon precedence, and in regulating the ceremonies. Cardinals rank themselves equal to Kings, and superior to other Princes. France claimed with better pretence a pre-eminence before other Kings. However, Don Louis de Haro insisted on, and obtained, a perfect equality between Mazarin and himself, between France and Spain.

The conferences continued four months. Mazarin and Don Louis displayed their utmost skill in politics;

* So called, from the number of those birds found there.

the art of Mazarin lay in cunning, and that of Haro in deliberation. The latter made use of but few words, and whatever the other said was equivocal. The genius of the Italian Minister was to over-reach; that of the Spanish Minister, to keep on his guard*. It is said, that he made this reflection on the Cardinal; "He pursues one great error in politics, which is, that he would ever deceive."

Such is the vicissitude of human affairs, that of this famous Pyrenean treaty, there do not remain two of the articles at this time subsisting. The King of France kept possession of Roussillon, and so he would have done independent of the peace; but with regard to Flanders, the Spanish monarchy retains nothing there. France was then joined in a necessary alliance with Portugal, but she is no longer so; now every thing is changed. But if Don Louis de Haro said, that Cardinal Mazarin could deceive, it might well be said since, that he could foresee. He had a long time meditated an alliance between the Houses of France and Spain. They quote that famous letter of his, written during the negotiations of Munster. "If the Most Christian King could get the Low-Countries and Franche-Compte in dower with the Infanta, we might then pretend to aspire to the succession of Spain, notwithstanding any renunciation that might be made to it on the marriage; and this is not a very distant prospect, as there is only the life of the Infant, her brother, to exclude it." This Prince was Balthazar, who died in 1649.

The Cardinal, however, evidently deceived himself, in supposing that the Low-Countries and Franche-Comté would be given as a portion to the Infanta. Not even a single town was stipulated for her dower. On the contrary, several considerable towns were restored to Spain that the French had taken from them, as St. Omer, Ypres, Menin, Oudenarde, and other places. But some of them were retained. The Cardinal, in-

* The different characters of their two nations could not be better described, than they are in the persons of these Ministers.

deed, was not deceived in saying, that the renunciation would one day, ere long, be of no avail; but then those who give him the credit of such a prediction, must make him foresee that Prince Balthazar would die in 1649; that after him the three sons of the second marriage should all die in the cradle; that Charles, the fifth of all the male children, should have no posterity; and that this Austrian King should, one day, make a will in favour of a grandson of Louis XIV. In fine, the Cardinal did indeed foresee how little any renunciation would signify, in case the heirs-male of Philip IV. should happen to fail; and unexpected events have chanced to justify his supposition, after an interval of above fifty years.

Maria Theresa being expected to have those towns for her portion that France had surrendered, brought by her marriage contract only five hundred thousand gold crowns; and it cost the King more money to go and receive her on the frontiers. These five hundred thousand crowns, then worth two million five hundred thousand livres, became, however, the subject of great contest between the two Ministers; and France finally never received more than a hundred thousand francs of the money.

So far was this marriage from producing any other advantage, present and real, except that of peace, that the Infanta renounced all right she might ever be entitled to claim to any of the territories of her father; and this renunciation was ratified by Louis XIV. in the most solemn manner, and afterwards registered in the Parliament.

These renunciations, and these five hundred thousand gold crowns by way of portion, seem to be the usual articles of marriage between the Infantas of Spain and the Kings of France. Queen Anne of Austria, daughter to Philip III, was married to Louis XIII. on the same conditions; and when Isabella, daughter to Henry the Great, was affianced to Philip IV. King of Spain, there was no more stipulated for than five hundred thousand crowns of gold as her dowry; and of which there never

was

was a livre paid: so that it appears there was then no manner of advantage in those great matches; and that the daughters of Kings were married to Kings with scarcely any thing more than their wedding-clothes given them.

The Duke of Lorrain, Charles IV: of whom France and Spain had great reason to complain, or rather who had great cause of complaint against them, was comprehended in this treaty; but merely as an unfortunate Prince, whom they used as they pleased, because he had it not in his power to render himself respected. France restored him his dominions, after demolishing Nanci*, but restricted him from keeping any troops on foot. Don Louis de Haro obliged Cardinal Mazarin to get the Prince of Condé received into favour, by threatening to give him the sovereignty of Rocroi, of Chatelet, and other places of which he was then in possession: so that France recovered these cities and the Great Condé also both together. He had lost his post of Grand Master of the King's household, which was afterwards given to his son, and brought back nothing to France but his fame.

Charles II. nominal King of England, more unhappy than the Duke of Lorrain, came near the Pyenées, while the negociations of peace were in agitation. He implored the assistance both of Mazarin and Don Louis. He flattered himself that their Kings, who were his cousin-germans, being now united, would at last undertake to vindicate a cause common to all Sovereigns; more especially as Cromwell was then dead. But he could not obtain even an audience, either with Mazarin or Don Louis. Lockhart, the ambassador from the Republic of England, was at St. John de Luz. He made himself respected still, even after the death of the Protector; and both the Ministers, from the fear of offending this Englishman, refused even to see Charles II. They looked upon his re-establishment as an impossible event, and supposed that all the English factions, however at variance with one another, would unani-

* The capital city of Lorrain.

mously unite against ever acknowledging a King. They happened both of them to be mistaken; for Fortune, a few months after, effected what these Ministers might have had the glory of accomplishing. Charles was recalled into his dominions by the English themselves, without any one Power in Europe having attempted to prevent the murder of his father, or exerted itself in any manner towards the restoration of the son. He was received on the plains of Dover by above twenty thousand of his subjects, who fell on their knees before him. Some old people who had been among the number, told me, that the whole multitude shed tears

June 1660.

upon that occasion. There never was, perhaps, a spectacle more moving, nor a revolution more sudden. This change of fortune was consummated in less time than the Pyrenean treaty was concluded; and Charles II. was in quiet possession of England, before Louis XIV. was even married by proxy.

At length Cardinal Mazarin returned with the King Aug. 1660. and his new Queen to Paris. A father who had married his son without giving him up the possession of his fortune, would not have acted otherwise than Mazarin did upon this occasion. He came back more powerful, and more jealous of that power, and even of his honours, than ever. He insisted and obtained that the Parliament should come in a body and address him. This was without precedent in the Monarchy, but it was not thought too great a reparation for the injury the Parliament had done him. He no longer gave his hand to the Princes of the Blood in the third degree, as formerly; and he that was forced to admit Don Louis de Haro as his equal, now treated the Great Condé as his inferior.

He then appeared in public with regal pomp, having, besides his ordinary guards, a company of mousquetaires, which is at present the second company of the King's guards. There was no longer any free access to his person; and if any one was bad politician enough to ask a favour from the King, he was ruined. The Queen mother, so long an obstinate patroness of Mazarin against

all

all France, was left without influence, as soon as he found he could rule without her assistance. The King her son, trained up in an implicit submission to this Minister, was not able to shake off the yoke she had imposed upon him, as well as on herself. She respected her own work, and Louis XIV. dared not attempt to reign while Mazarin lived.

A Minister is excusable for the evil he may do, when the helm of state is forced into his hands by tempests; but in a calm, he is guilty of all the good he does not perform. Mazarin did none to any one but himself, either directly, or through the medium of his family. Eight years of absolute sway and tranquility, since his last return till the time of his death, were not marked by any establishment, either glorious or useful; for the College of the Four Nations was only an appointment by his will.

He managed the finances like the agent of a Lord who was in his debt. The King asked money sometimes from l'ouquet, who answered him, "Sire, there is not a sou in your Majesty's Exchequer, but Monsieur the Cardinal can lend you some." Mazarin was worth about two hundred millions, according to our present computation*. 'Tis said, in many Memoirs, that he amassed great part of these riches by means that were beneath the dignity of his station. 'Tis reported also that he used to be a sharer in the prizes of the privateers; though this was not proved against him. The Dutch, however, suspected him of it, and they had no such idea of Cardinal Richelieu.

'Tis said, that on his death-bed he betrayed some stings of conscience, though outwardly he affected courage. At least he feared, on account of his treasures, and therefore made a present of them all to the King, hoping he would restore them to him again; an idea in which he was not deceived; for the King returned him the legacy in about three days. He died at last; and there

* Ten millions sterling, reckoning the livre at a shilling.

March 9,
1661. did not appear to be a single person in the Kingdom who regretted him, except the King; for this Prince had already learned to dissemble. The yoke began to fit heavy on him, and he was impatient to reign. He, however, affected to appear sensible of a loss that put him in possession of his sceptre.

Louis XIV. and the whole Court went into mourning for Cardinal Mazarin; an uncommon compliment to a subject, but which Henry IV. had before paid to the memory of Gabrielle d'Etrées.

We shall not stop here to examine whether Cardinal Mazarin was a great Minister or no. 'Tis enough for us to speak of his actions, and leave posterity to form their own judgments on them. The generality of people are apt to suppose a great extent of understanding, and a genius almost divine, to be the lot of those who have governed kingdoms with any success. But it is not superior penetration that makes statesmen—it is their character. Men, however differing in their portions of sense, see pretty much alike their own interests. A Citizen of Amsterdam or Berne is as wise in this point, as Sejanus, Ximenes, Buckingham, Richelieu, or Mazarin; but our conduct and our enterprises depend solely upon the temper of our minds, and our success depends on fortune.

For example: If a General of the character of Pope Alexander VI. or his son Borgia, had commanded at the siege of Rochelle, he would have invited into his camp the principal chiefs of the town, under the confidence of a solemn oath, and then assassinated them. Mazarin would have carried the town, two or three years later, by bribing and dividing the citizens. Don Louis de Haro would not have hazarded the attempt. Richelieu raised a dike in the sea, in imitation of Alexander, and entered the town a conqueror. But a little stronger tide, or a little more activity on the part of the English, would have saved Rochelle, and caused the attempt of Richelieu to be deemed rash.

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The characters of men may be judged from their enterprises. We may venture to pronounce that Richelieu was possessed of a proud and a revengeful temper; that Mazarin was prudent, supple, and avaritious; but to ascertain to what point a Minister has understanding, we must converse with him frequently, or peruse his writings. It happens often among Statesmen, as it does every day among courtiers, that those who have the best talents frequently fail, while persons with more patience, resolution, suppleness, and consistency in their characters, generally succeed.

In reading the Letters of Cardinal Mazarin, and the Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz, we may easily perceive that Retz was the superior genius. Yet Mazarin was all-powerful, and Retz was overpowered. In short, it is certain, that to make an able Minister, a man need often possess but a middling genius, good sense, and good fortune; but to be a good Minister, his ruling passion must be a love for the public welfare. The great statesman is he who leaves great monuments behind him that are of advantage to his Country.

The monument which immortalizes Cardinal Mazarin, is the acquisition of Alsace. He added this province to France, at the very time that she was exclaiming against him; and by a singular fatality, did more good to the kingdom when he was persecuted by it, than during the tranquility of an uncontrouled power.

C H A P: VII.

Louis XIV. governs by himself. He forces the Spanish-Austrian branch to allow him precedency, and the Court of Rome to make him satisfaction. He purchases Dunkirk. He gives assistance to the Emperor, to Portugal, and to the States-General; and renders his Kingdom flourishing and formidable.

THERE was scarcely, in any Court, more cabals and hopes than while Cardinal Mazarin lay on his death-bed. The women who pretended to beauty, flattered themselves with the idea of governing a Prince of two-and-twenty, already such a dupe to love as to have offered his crown to his Mistress. The young Courtiers promised themselves to have the reign of favouritism renewed. Every Minister expected the first place. None of them ever supposed that a King kept in ignorance of all affairs of state, would attempt at once to take upon him the cares of government. Mazarin had prolonged the minority of the King as much as possible. He instructed him only a short time before his death, and then only because the King insisted upon it.

It was so far from being suspected he would govern alone, that not one of those who had acted under the former Minister, ever thought of asking the King when they should confer with him. The only question was from them all, "To whom shall we apply?" Louis XIV. answered, "To me." But they were still more surprised, on finding him persevere in this determination. He had, for some time, consulted his faculties, and essayed in secret his talents for governing. His resolution once taken, he maintained it to the last moment of his life. He marked out to each of his Ministers the limits of his power, obliging them to deliver in an account of whatever fell within their departments to himself at stated times, reposing in them just so much confidence as was necessary to give them credit in their Ministry,

Ministry, but watching carefully over them to prevent their abusing it.

Madame de Motteville tells us, that the character of Charles II. King of England, who was then said to govern by himself, had inspired Louis XIV. with an emulation of the same kind. If that was true, he far excelled his example; for he deserved all his life what was at first pronounced of Charles.

He commenced his personal government with regulating the finances, which were left in confusion by a long course of peculation. Discipline was also, as much established among the troops, as in the Treasury. Magnificence and propriety gave a lustre to his Court. Even in its pleasures there appeared both a splendour and grandeur. All the arts were patronized, and all contributed to the glory both of the King and of the kingdom.

This is no proper place to consider him in his private character, or in the interior of his government. This shall be performed in another part of this work. Suffice it here to say, that the nation, which since the death of Henry the Great had never seen a real King, and which, abhorred the rule of a Prime Minister, was inspired with admiration and hope, when they saw Louis XIV. acting at twenty-two, what Henry had done at fifty. If Henry IV. had had a Prime Minister, he would have been ruined, because the aversion to such a person would have incited a number of powerful factions. If Louis XIII. had not had one, that Prince, whose feeble and distempered body had enervated his mind, must have sunk under the weight of government. Louis XIV. might without danger have had, or not had, a Prime Minister; for then there remained not the least trace of former factions; there was now in France only a master and his subjects. He, from the first, demonstrated that he was ambitious of every kind of glory, and that he would be as much respected abroad, as absolute at home.

The former Kings of Europe claimed an exact equality among one another; which was very natural; but

but the Kings of France have ever challenged a precedence, on pretence of the antiquity of their race and of their Kingdom; and if they gave place to the Emperors, it was because men are seldom apt to controvert a right of usage.

The head of the German Republic, though an elective Prince, and of very little power in himself, takes the lead indisputably before all the other sovereigns, on account of his title of Cæsar, and the succession from Charlemagne. The German Chancery did not even allow the other Potentates the addition of Majesty; and yet the Kings of France might have justly disputed precedence before the Emperors, because France had founded the real Western Empire, the name of which only subsists in Germany. They had in their favour not only the superiority of an hereditary Crown over an elective dignity, but the further advantage of an uninterrupted succession of Kings, which reigned over a great monarchy many ages before any of those families throughout the world which are now in possession of Crowns, had attained to any degree of elevation. They challenged, at least, precedence before the other States of Europe; and alledged for their claim the title of Most Christian, which the Kings of Spain disputed by opposing that of Catholic; and ever since Charles V. had held a King of France prisoner at Madrid, the Spanish haughtiness was the farther from ceding this pre-eminence. The English and the Swedes, though they alledge not any of these honorary additions, avoid as much as possible an acknowledgment of this superiority to either of them.

At Rome these claims were formerly debated. The Popes, who used then to confer Kingdoms by their bulls, concluded, with much stronger reason, they had a right to settle the rank between the Crowned Heads. That Court, where every thing is transacted with the greatest ceremony, was the tribunal which discussed these vanities of greatness. France was there always allowed the precedence, when she was more powerful than Spain; but since the reign of Charles V. Spain had neglected

no occasion of being admitted to a footing of equality at least. The dispute remained undecided; a step more or less in a procession, an arm-chair placed near an Altar, or opposite to a Pulpit, were their triumphs, and established their titles to this pre-eminence. The folly of a point of honour in this article, was as extreme, among Crowned Heads, as the madness of duelling was among the inferior ranks of men.

It happened that at the entry of a Swedish Ambassador into London, the Count d'Estlade, Ambassador from France, and Baron Watteville, 1661. the Spanish Ambassador, disputed the procession. The Spaniard, having been more liberal of his money, and having a larger retinue, gained the London populace on his side. The coach-horses of the French Ambassador were killed, and the suite of Count d'Estlade, wounded and dispersed, left the Spaniards to march through the streets with swords drawn, as in triumph.

Louis XIV. being informed of this insult, recalled his Ambassador from Madrid, and ordered the Spanish one to quit France; stopped the conferences that were then carrying on in Flanders about settling the Frontiers; and sent a message to King Philip IV. his father-in-law, that if he did not acknowledge the superiority of the Crown of France, and make reparation for this affront by a formal satisfaction, the war should be immediately renewed.

Philip IV. not choosing to replunge his Kingdom into a new war for the precedence of an Ambassador, sent the Count de Fuentes to declare to the March 24,
1662. King, at Fontainebleau, in presence of all the foreign Ministers who were then in France, "that the Spanish Ministers, for the future, should never have any competition with those of France." This was not an unequivocal acknowledgement, indeed, of the pre-eminence of France, but it was an authentic proof of the weakness of Spain. That Court, still proud, murmured a long time at its humiliation. Several Spanish Ministers since then renewed their former pretensions, and obtained an equality at Nimeguen.

But

But Louis XIV. then acquired by his firmness a real superiority in Europe, in making it appear how much he was to be feared.

He had scarcely made an end of this inconsiderable affair with so much grandeur, but he marked it still more, upon an occasion where his glory seemed to be less interested. The young French Officers, in the wars which had been long carried on in Italy against Spain, had given to the circumspect and jealous Italians the idea of their being a forward and over-bearing nation. Italy, indeed, regarded all the nations with which she was overflowed, as barbarians, and the French to be as barbarous as the rest, but gayer and more dangerous, who introduced pleasures into every house, shewing a contempt for the people, at the same time, and adding insult to debauchery. They were feared every where, but particularly in Rome.

The Duke of Crequi, Ambassador to the Pope, had disgusted the people of Rome by his haughtiness; and his domestics, who always carry the faults of their masters to an extreme, committed the same sort of licentiousness that the ungovernable young men used to do in Paris, who piqued themselves every night on attacking and driving the city watch before them.

Some of the Duke of Crequi's suite took it into their heads to attack, sword in hand, a detachment of the Corsicans, who are the posse of the Civil Magistrate. The whole corps of Corsicans resenting it, and being secretly abetted by Don Mario Chigi, brother to Pope Alexander VII. who hated the Duke of Crequi, rose in arms, and besieged the Ambassador's house. Aug: 20, 1662. They fired at the coach in which the Duchess of Crequi was, just turning into the *porte cochere*, killed one of her pages, and wounded several of her attendants.

The Duke of Crequi immediately quitted Rome, and accused the Pope's relations, and the Pope himself, of having encouraged this assassination. The Pope delayed, as long as he could, giving any satisfaction, from a notion that with regard to the French it was only necessary

necessary to procrastinate, and that every thing would be forgotten. But after four months hesitation, he was obliged to hang one of the Corsicans, and one of the Sbirri *, and to banish the Governor from Rome who was suspected to have favoured the outrage. But he was struck with consternation when he heard that the King, not content with this, threatened to besiege Rome; that he had already marched troops into Italy; and that Marshal du Pleffis-Praslin was named to command them. This affair became now a national quarrel on both sides, and the King would vindicate his own. The Pope, before he would comply with the satisfaction demanded, solicited the mediation of the rest of the Catholic Princes, exerting all his politics to rouse them against Louis XIV.; but the circumstances of the times were not favourable to him. The Empire was attacked by the Turks; and Spain was embarrassed in an unprosperous war with Portugal.

The Court of Rome only irritated the King, without being able to resist him. The Parliament of Provence summoned the Pope, and took possession of Avignon. In other times, the excommunications of Rome would have been issued against such sacrilege; but these arms were now worn-out, and become a jest. The Pope was obliged to submit; he was forced to banish his own brother from Rome; to send his nephew, Cardinal Chigi, in the quality of Legate à Latere, to make satisfaction to the King; to disband his Corsican guards; and to erect a pyramid in Rome, with an inscription reciting both the affront and the reparation. Cardinal Chigi was the first Legate from the Court of Rome that ever was sent upon the errand of begging pardon. All former Legates were deputed to give laws, and impose the tenths †.

The King was not contented with having an affront repaired by transient ceremonies, or by monuments as perishable also, (for he suffered, some years after, the

* Constables.

† The tenth quota of all ecclesiastical benefices levied by the Papal authority, upon any exigency of the Holy See.

demolition of this pyramid); but he compelled the Court of Rome to surrender Castro and Ronciglione, at least for a term, to the Duke of Parma, and to indemnify the Duke of Modena for his claims upon Comachio. Thus did he derive from this insult the real honour of becoming the Protector of the Italian Princes.

While he was in this manner supporting his dignity, he did not neglect the increase of his power. His finances being well administered by Colbert, enabled
 Oct. 27, 1662. him to purchase Dunkirk and Mardike from the King of England, for five millions of livres, at twenty-six livres ten sous the mark. Charles II. both poor and prodigal, thus shamefully sold the price of English blood. His Chancellor Hyde, accused of having either advised, or permitted, this mean action, was afterwards banished by the Parliament of England, which punishes often the crimes of favourites, and sometimes sits in judgment upon its kings.

Louis set thirty thousand men to work upon the for-
 1663. tifications of Dunkirk, both on the land-side and on that of the sea. There was a large basin hollowed out, between the town and the citadel, sufficient for the reception of thirty ships of war; so that England had no sooner sold the place, than it became an object of their terror.

Some time after, the King compelled the Duke of
 Aug. 30, 1663. Lorraine to give him the strong town of Marfal. This unhappy Charles IV. an illustrious warrior, but a weak Prince, inconstant and imprudent, concluded a treaty, by which he ceded Lorraine to France after his death, on condition that the King would permit him to levy a million upon the dominions that he had abandoned to him, and that the Princes of the House of Lorraine should be ranked as Princes of the Blood in France. This treaty, registered in vain by the Parliament of Paris, served only to produce new inconstancies in the Duke of Lorraine; who was glad afterwards to surrender Marfal, and throw himself upon the clemency of the King.

Louis

Louis augmented his territories even during the peace; and kept himself always prepared for war, by fortifying his frontiers, preserving a strict discipline in his army, increasing his troops, and reviewing them often.

The Turks were then very formidable in Europe. They at the same time attacked the Emperor of Germany and the Venetians. The policy of the Kings of France had always been to preserve an alliance with the Porte, not only for the advantages of commerce, but to prevent the House of Austria from becoming too powerful. However, a Christian King could not refuse assisting the Emperor, when he was in danger; and the interest of France was, that the Turks should raise disturbances in Hungary, but not invade it. Besides, his treaties with the Empire made this honourable measure his duty. Accordingly he sent six thousand men into Hungary, under the command of the Count de Coligni, the only remaining descendant of the family of that Coligni formerly so celebrated in our civil wars, and who merited, perhaps, as great renown as that Admiral, both by his courage and his virtue. Friendship had attached him to the Great Condé, and all the offers of Cardinal Mazarin were never able to seduce him from his connection.

He carried with him the flower of the French Nobility, and among them the young La Feuillade, a man of an enterprising spirit, and ambitious of eminence and fame. These French troops went to Hungary to serve under General Montecuculi, who at that time opposed the Grand Vizier Kiuperli, or Kouprogli; and who afterward, in serving against France, balanced the reputation of Turenne. A great battle was fought at St. Gothard, on the banks of the Raab, between the Turkish and the German armies. The French performed prodigies of valour; even the Germans, who loved them not, were forced to confess their merit. But it would not be doing the same justice to the Germans, to say, as many books have done, that the French alone carried away the honour of the victory.

August,
1644.

The King, while he maintained his grandeur by openly succouring the Emperor, and adding a lustre to the French arms, employed his policy privately to assist Portugal against Spain. Cardinal Mazarin had formerly made a sacrifice of the Portuguese, by the Pyrenean treaty; but Spain had made several little tacit infractions on the peace. France made one herself, both bold and decisive. Marshal Schomberg, a foreigner and a Huguenot, marched into Portugal at the head of four thousand French forces paid by Louis XIV. though he pretended they were hired by the King of Portugal.

June 17,
1665. These troops, joined to the Portuguese forces, gained a complete victory at Villa-Viciosa, which established the throne in the Braganza family. Thus Louis XIV. already appeared to be a martial and political Prince, and Europe dreaded him even before he had yet begun to make war in his own name.

It was this same policy which made him, contrary to his engagements, elude joining the few ships he was then master of, to the Dutch fleet. He had entered into an alliance with Holland, in 1662. That Republic, about that time, had renewed the war with England, on account of the vain and ridiculous honour of the flag*, and for the sake of their substantial interests in the commerce of the Indies. Louis saw with pleasure these two maritime powers put to sea every year against each other, fleets of more than one hundred ships of war, and mutually destroying one another by the most obstinate battles that ever were heard of, and of which the only consequence was, the weakening of both parties. One of these sea-

June 11, 12, 13,
1666. fights lasted three † intire days. It was in these actions that the Dutch Admiral De Ruyter acquired the character of being the greatest naval commander that ever lived. It was he who went and burned the finest of the English ships even in their own ports, about four leagues from Lon-

* Was this more vain and ridiculous than the struggle for Precedency between France and Spain?

† The English Historians say four.

don *. He made Holland master at sea †, the empire of which England had ever maintained before, and where Louis XIV. had not yet become considerable.

The sovereignty of the ocean had been divided for some time between those two nations. The art of ship-building, and constructing them either for commerce or for war, was but little known to any except themselves. France, under the ministry of Richelieu, thought herself powerful at sea, because from about sixty ships which she reckoned in her ports, she could send out, perhaps, thirty; of which there was but one that mounted seventy guns. Under Mazarin, they purchased from Holland the few vessels they had; but wanted sailors, officers, and manufactures, for the construction and equipment of them.

The King undertook to repair the ruinous state of his marine, and to supply France with every requisite for the purpose, with incredible diligence. But in 1664, and 1665, while the English and Dutch covered the seas with near three hundred large men of war, he had not

* At Chatham, in the river Medway. Voltaire is mistaken in his measure; for 'tis thirty miles from London; and four leagues, by any computation, (for it is various in different parts of France) will not reach it.

† This we deny. In the first engagement of this war, in the year 1665, the Duke of York gained a complete victory over Opdam and Tromp; and if his Royal Highness had not taken a nap too soon, he would not have left them a ship to continue the war. The action maintained, the next year, in June, between Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, Admiral of the English fleet; and De Ruyter, and Van Tromp, of the Dutch, was so equally fought, that both sides sung Te Deum. But the next month the matter was put quite out of dispute, by an intire defeat of the same Dutch Admirals by the same English ones; after which Admiral Holmes sailed triumphantly along the coast of Holland, burned two men of war and many merchant ships in the river Vlis, made a descent on Schelling, and demolished the town of Brandaris.

The affair of Chatham was a disgrace to the Dutch themselves, not to the English. It was done by surprize, during the time that a conference for peace was depending, when the English, looking upon that interval to be exempt from hostilities, had unmanned and unrigged their navy.

In the second Dutch war, the first engagement was so much in our favour, that De Ruyter sheered off in the night. The second, third and fourth actions were nearly equal, on both sides.

above fifteen or sixteen ships, of the lowest rates, which the Duke of Beaufort commanded against the Corsairs of Barbary; and when the States-General pressed Louis XIV. to join his fleet to theirs, there was only one single fire-ship in the harbour of Brest, which they were ashamed to send out, 'till pressed to it by repeated instances. But this was a disgrace which Louis XIV. quickly exerted himself to efface.

He gave the States a more honourable and essential succour by land. He sent them six thousand

1665. French troops, to defend them against the Bishop of Munster, Christopher-Bernard de Galen, a martial Prelate, and an implacable enemy, subsidized by England to ravage the territories of Holland. But he made them pay dear for his assistance, and treated them like a powerful person who sells his protection to opulent merchants. Colbert charged them not only with the pay of these troops, but added the expences of an embassy sent to England, to conclude their peace with Charles II. Never was aid given with so ill a grace, nor consequently received with less gratitude.

The King having thus trained his troops, and formed new officers, in Hungary, in Holland, and in Portugal, respected and revenged in Rome, saw not a single power in Europe that he needed to fear. England ravaged by the plague; London burned down by a fire, unjustly imputed to the Roman Catholics; the continual prodigality and indigence of Charles II. as destructive to the state of his affairs, as the burning, or the plague; secured France sufficiently from any danger on the side of England. The Emperor was still suffering under the weakness occasioned by his war with the Turks. The King of Spain, Philip IV. dying, and his Monarchy being as feeble as himself, left Louis XIV. the only powerful, the only formidable Monarch among the States. He was young, rich, well-served, implicitly obeyed, and shewed an impatience to signalize himself, and rank with Conquerors.

C H A P. VIII.

Conquest of Flanders.

OPPORTUNITY presented itself soon to a King who sought it. Philip IV. his father-in-law, died. He had by his first wife, who was sister to Louis XIII. the Princess Maria-Theresa, married to her cousin Louis XIV. ; a marriage by which the Spanish Monarchy has at length fallen into the House of Bourbon, so long its enemy. By his second marriage with Mary-Anne of Austria, he had Charles II. a weak and sickly child, heir to his crown, and the sole remaining son of three male children, two of whom had died in the cradle. Louis XIV. pretended that Flanders, Brabant, and Franche-Comté, provinces belonging to Spain, ought, according to the jurisprudence of those States, to descend to his wife, notwithstanding her renunciation. If the claims of Kings were to be decided by the Laws of Nations, before an impartial tribunal, this demand might have been doubtful, at least.

Louis had his rights canvassed by his own Council, assisted by the Theologians, who all declared them to be irrefragable; but the Council and the Confessor of the Dowager of Philip IV. pronounced them not founded in law. The Queen had, on her side, a strong argument, namely, the law of Charles V; but the laws of Charles V. were not much regarded by the Court of France.

One of the pretexts which were assumed by the Council of the King, was, that the five hundred thousand crowns, stipulated as the dowry with the Queen, had never been paid; but then they forgot that the portion of the daughter of Henry IV. remained undischarged also. France and Spain disputed this point at first by writings, in which were displayed the calculations of a banker, and the pleadings of a lawyer; but the reason of state was the only logic attended. This reason of state was something extraordinary

Louis XIV. began to attack an infant, of whom **he** ought to have been the guardian and protector, as **he** was married to his sister. Could it be supposed that **the** Emperor Leopold, considered as the head of the House of Austria, would have suffered him to oppress **this** family, and aggrandize himself in Flanders? Who could believe that the Emperor and the King of France had before divided, in idea, the spoils of the young Charles of Austria, King of Spain? Some hints of this sad truth are to be met with in the Memoirs of the Marquis de Torcy*, though they are not sufficiently clear. Time has at length unfolded a mystery, which proves, that among Kings the interest and the claims of the strongest power take place of justice, especially when that right seems to be in the least doubtful.

All the brothers of Charles II. King of Spain were dead. Charles was of a feeble and unhealthy constitution. Louis XIV. and Leopold concluded, in his infancy, the same treaty of partition, pretty nearly, that they carved between them on his death. By that compact, which is actually among the records at the Louvre, Leopold was to suffer Louis XIV. to possess himself, at present, of Flanders, on condition that, on the death of Charles, Spain should pass under the dominion of the Emperor. It is not said whether there was any money paid, in consideration of this extraordinary negotiation. Generally, this principal article in all treaties is kept a secret.

Leopold had no sooner signed the deed, than he repented of it; at least, he insisted that this transaction should not be revealed to any of the Courts, that no counterpart should be executed of the agreement, as is usual; and that the sole instrument which was to subsist between them, should be locked up in an iron box, of which the Emperor was to keep one key, and the King of France the other. This box was to be deposited in the hands of the Great Duke of Florence. The Emperor delivered it for this purpose to the French Ambassador, then at Vienna, and the King sent

* Vol. I. page 36, of an Edition said to be printed at the Hague, a detach-

a detachment of sixteen of his life-guards to the gates of the city, as a convoy to the Courier, lest the Emperor might alter his mind, and have the box carried off on the road. It was carried to Versailles, and not to Florence; which affords cause to suspect that Leopold had been bribed to the contract; since he did not dare to complain of the fraud.

In this manner did the Emperor suffer the King of Spain to be despoiled.

The King, trusting more to his troops than his reasons, marched into Flanders as to a certain conquest. He was himself at the head of thirty-five thousand men; another body of eight thousand was sent towards Dunkirk; and one of four thousand towards Luxemburgh. Turenne commanded the army under him. Colbert had multiplied the resources of the state necessary to supply these expences. Louvois, the new Minister for the war department, had made immense preparations for the campaign. Stores of every kind were properly disposed on the frontiers. He was the first that established the advantageous method, which the weakness of Government had before rendered impracticable, of subsisting armies by magazines. Whatever siege the King chose to undertake, on whichever side he turned his arms, provisions of every kind were at hand; the quarters for the troops were marked out; and their marches adjusted. Discipline, become more strict every day by the inflexible severity of the Minister, restrained the Officers within their duty. The presence of a young King the idol of his army, rendered the hardship of this discipline not only easy, but pleasing. Military rank commenced from this time to be an honour much superior to that of birth. Services and not ancestry were now considered, which had seldom been the rule before. By this distinction an Officer of the meanest origin was encouraged; without affording cause to those of the noblest descent to murmur. The Infantry, which bore the brunt of war since the uselessness of lances had been discovered, partook of the rewards which the Cavalry had exclusively possessed before. New maxims of government inspired new ardour

The King, assisted by a General and a Minister * of equal abilities, and equally jealous of each other; both, however, serving him the better for that reason; at the head of the best troops in Europe, and finally strengthened by a new league with Portugal, attacked with all these advantages a Province ill defended of a Kingdom already ruined and torn in pieces. He had only his mother-in-law to contend with, a weak woman governed by a Jesuit †, whose despised and unhappy administration had left the Spanish monarchy without defence. The King of France had every advantage that was wanting to Spain.

The art of attacking places, as at present, had not then been perfected, because the skill of fortifying and defending them was also unknown. The frontiers of Spanish Flanders were mostly without fortifications, and ungarrisoned.

Louis had only to present himself before them. He entered Charleroy, as if it had been Paris. Ath and

July 6,
1667.

Tournay were taken in two days. Furnes, Armentieres, and Courtray, did not hold out longer. He entered the trenches before Douay, and it surrendered the next day. Lille, the most flourishing city in this Province, the only one well fortified, and containing a garrison of six thousand men, capitulated, after a nine days siege.

August 27.

The Spaniards had not above eight thousand troops to oppose against this victorious army; and the rear of this small body was cut in pieces by the Marquis,

August 31.

afterwards Marshal, de-Crequi. The remainder sheltered itself under the walls of Mons and Brussels, leaving the King a conqueror without a battle.

This campaign, made in the midst of the greatest abundance, and attended by successes so easy, appeared to be merely a Court progress. Feastings, luxury, and pleasures, then got footing in the army, even while discipline was perfecting itself. Officers then per-

* Turenne and Colbert.

† Father Nitard, a German. He told the Duke of Lerma once, that he ought to treat him with more respect, "as he had every day his God in his hands, (the Eucharist) and his Queen at his feet." (He was her Confessor.)

formed

formed all their military duties with more exactness, but with more elegant accommodations. Marshal Turenne for a long time had only eaten off iron plates in camp. The Marquis D'Humieres was the first, at the siege of Arras, in 1658, who was served in plate in the trenches, and had his table covered with ragouts and second courses. But in this campaign of 1667, where a young King, who loved magnificence, displayed that of his Court amidst the fatigues of war, every one exerted himself to exhibit patterns of sumptuousness and taste in his entertainments, his dress, and equipage.

This luxury, the certain sign of the riches of a great state; and often the cause of decadence in a small one, was, however, nothing in comparison with what we have since become acquainted with. The King, his Generals, and his Ministers, used then to go to the rendezvous on horseback; whereas at present every Captain of horse, or General Officer's secretary, has his post-chaise, with glasses and springs, to convey him more commodiously, and at his ease, than one could formerly pay a visit from one quarter of Paris to another.

The delicacy of the Officers did not then prevent them from appearing in the trenches covered with a helmet and a cuirass. The King himself set them the example. He went into the lines so armed, before Douay and Lille. This prudent caution has saved many a great man; but it has been too much neglected since, by our young men of feeble frames, equally effeminate and brave, and who seem to dread fatigue more than danger.

The rapidity of these conquests alarmed Brussels; and the inhabitants began to remove their effects to Antwerp. The conquest of all Flanders might have been the work of this single campaign. The King had occasion only for a sufficient number of troops to take possession of the places ready to open their gates to his summons. Louvois advised him to put strong garrisons into the towns he had already made himself master of, and to fortify them. Vauban, one of those great men and persons of genius who appeared in this age for the service of

Louis

Louis XIV*, was appointed military architect to perform this work. He executed it according to his new method; which has since been adopted by all good engineers.

The world was amazed to see places surrounded only by works lying on a level with the open country. High and bold fortifications were but the more exposed to the battery of artillery; while those that were hid underground; were in less danger of being destroyed. He constructed the citadel of Lisle upon these principles. In France, the government of a town had never before been a detached command from that of the fortress. The precedent of this was first made in favour of Vauban, who was the first governor of a citadel. It may further be observed, that the first of these plans in relieve, that is to be seen in the gallery of the Louvre, was that of the fortifications of Lisle.

The King hastened back to enjoy the acclamations of his people, the adorations of his Courtiers and Mistresses; and to partake of the festivals he gave his Court.

C H A P . IX.

The Conquest of Franche-Comte, and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

THE Court was immersed in the entertainments exhibited at St. Germain's, when in the depth of winter, in the month of January, people were surprised to see troops marching on all sides, passing and repassing the roads of Champagne, in the Three Bishopricks; and trains of artillery and ammunition-waggons

* What a stroke of French enthusiasm in this! Vauban and other great men, and persons of genius, were only sent into the world, it seems, for the service of Louis XIV. This is, to be sure, a more innocent, though not a less ridiculous notion than one of the same kind that some of the Eastern nations are possessed with; who, upon the demise of their King, put all his suite to death, that he may be properly served in the next world, as Voltaire says. Louis le Grand was in this.

stopped,

stopped, upon different pretences, on the high-way leading from Champagne to Burgundy. This part of France was in general motion, the cause of which could not even be guessed at. Foreigners through interest, and the natives through curiosity, were lost in conjectures. Germany was alarmed. The object of these preparations and irregular marches was a mystery to all. Never was the secret of a conspiracy better preserved, than was this expedition of Louis XIV.

At length, on the second of February, Louis set off from St. Germain's, with the young Duke of Enghien, son to the Great Condé, and some of his Court; the other Officers were gone to the rendezvous of the troops. He made long journies on horseback, till he arrived at Dijon. Twenty thousand men, assembled from different routes, collected themselves together, the same day, in Franche-Comte, at some leagues distance from Besançon, and the Great Condé appeared at their head; having for his principal Lieutenant General, Bouteville-Montmorency, his friend, become then Duke of Luxembourg, always attached to him in his good or ill fortune. Luxembourg was the pupil of Condé in the art of war; and his great merit obliged the King to employ him, though he did not love him*.

Intrigues of Court were, partly, the motives of this unexpected enterprize. The Prince of Condé was jealous of Turenne's glory, and Louvois of his favour with the King. Condé's sentiment was the emulation of a hero; Louvois, the envy of a Minister. The Prince being Governor of Burgundy, which confines upon Franche-Comté, had formed the design of making himself master of that Province, in a winter campaign, and in less time than Turenne had taken, the summer before, for the conquest of French Flanders. He immediately communicated his project to Louvois, who readily con-

* Luxembourg was afterwards one of the greatest Generals of France. He commanded in the war against the Dutch. He was hump-backed; and hearing that the Prince of Orange had reflected on that circumstance, he replied, "He can speak but by guess, for he never saw my back, though I have often seen his."

curred,

curred, in order to keep Turenne at a distance, and render him useless, and at the same time with a view to the interest of his master.

This Province, poor in riches, but fertile in soil, well peopled, forty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth, bore the title of *Franche* or *free*, and was really so in effect; for the Kings of Spain were rather its protectors, than its masters. Though this country was in the government of Flanders, it was but little dependant on it. The entire administration was divided and disputed between the Parliament and the Governor of the Province. The people possessed great privileges, that were always respected by the Court of Madrid, which was obliged to temporize with a distrust jealous of its rights, and so near a neighbour to France.

Besançon • governs itself like an Imperial City, and no people ever lived under a milder administration, or were more attached to their Sovereigns. Their affection to the House of Austria was constant, during two generations; but this affection was founded in that of their liberty. In short, Franche-Comte was happy, tho' poor; but as it was a kind of Republic, it was not exempt from factions; and, notwithstanding what Pelisson has said to the contrary, force was not the sole means employed upon this occasion.

Some of the citizens were gained over by presents and promises, as was also the Abbot John Watteville, brother to him, who, by insulting the French Ambassador in London, had caused, by that outrage, the humiliation of the branch of Spanish-Austria. This Abbot, who was formerly an Officer, then a Carthusian Monk, afterwards a considerable time a Mussulman among the Turks, and at last an Ecclesiastic, was promised to be made High-Dean, with the addition of other benefices. Some of the Magistrates and Officers were purchased at a small price; and in short, the Marquis of Yenne, Governor-General of the place, became so tractable, that he was

• The capital of Franche-Comte.

openly rewarded after the war with a large pension, and the rank of a Lieutenant-General in France.

As soon as these secret intrigues were a little advanced, they were further supported by twenty thousand men. Besançon, the capital of the province, was invested by the Prince of Condé, and Luxembourg marched against Salins *. The next day both Besançon and Salins surrendered. Besançon asked no other terms of capitulation, than the preservation of the shrine of St. Suaire, or the Holy Handkerchief †, most devoutly worshipped in that city, which was readily granted. The King arrived at Dijon. Louvois, who had flown to the frontiers to direct all these measures, hastened to acquaint him that these two towns had been besieged and had surrendered. The King immediately hastened to pay his obeisance to Fortune, who favoured him in every thing.

He laid siege to Dole *, in person. This place was reputed strong; and the Count de Montrevel commanded there, an Officer of remarkable bravery, and who was faithful, through a natural nobleness of mind, to the Spanish Government which he hated, and to the Parliament that he despised. He had not a garrison of more than four hundred soldiers, with the inhabitants, and yet he resolved to hold out. The trenches were not carried on in form; for no sooner were they opened, than a number of young volunteers who followed the King, pushed forward to attack the counterescarp, and made a lodgment there. The Prince of Condé, to whom years and experience had given a calmer courage, supported them properly, and shared the danger, to rescue them from it.

* Another considerable town in Franche-Comte, so called from the manufacture of salt-works carried on there.

† The French word is *Suaire*, which signifies a *winding-sheet*. The Romish church has canonized the linen they supposed our Saviour to have been buried in. But why call it a *handkerchief*? I apprehend the custom of burying in linen to be of a later date. That pious Church has canonized the grave also, by the title of *St. Sepulchre*. But in this they seem to have begun at the wrong end of mortality. Why forget the cradle? Methinks *St. Cuna*, or *St. Cunabula*, would make as good a figure in the Kalendar.

* One of the towns in Franche-Comté.

The Prince was every where, with his son; and after the action, went to give an account of it to the King, like an Officer whose fortune was yet to make.

The King remained in his quarters, displaying rather the dignity of a Monarch in his Court, than the ardour of a General in the field, and which would have been perfectly useless upon this occasion. All the etiquette of St. Germain's was observed here. He had his *petit coucher**, public drawing-rooms, private parties, and a hall of audience in his tent; nor did he in any thing depart from the ceremonials of a throne, except in permitting his Generals and Aids-de-camp to dine at his table. He did not manifest in the fatigues of war that impetuous bravery by which Francis I. and Henry IV. had distinguished themselves, whose daring spirit seemed to challenge danger. He thought it sufficient not to fear it himself, and to encourage others to defy it for his service.

Feb. 14th 1668. He took possession of Dole, after four days siege, and twelve days after his setting out from St. Germain's; and finally, in less than three weeks the whole Franche-Comté submitted to his sovereignty. The Spanish Council, equally amazed and incensed at the weak defence that had been made, wrote to the Governor, that "The King of France might have sent his Valet-de-Chambre to have taken possession of the country in his name, and saved himself the trouble of going in person."

So much success, with so much ambition, at length roused Europe out of its lethargy. The Empire began to put itself in motion, and the Emperor to raise troops. The Swiss bordering upon Franche-Comté began to tremble for their liberty, which was then their sole treasure. The rest of Flanders was liable to be invaded, the approaching spring. The Dutch, who had always found it necessary to secure the French as their friends, now dreaded their becoming their neighbours. Spain had

† There is no English term for this expression. It means the interval between the King's retiring from company, and his going to bed.

then recourse to these very Hollanders, and was, in fact, protected by that inconsiderable nation, which it had formerly looked upon as despicable and rebellious.

Holland was governed by John de Witt, who from the age of five-and-twenty had been elected Grand Pensionary; a man equally jealous of the freedom of his country, and of his own personal greatness; conforming himself to the frugality and moderation of his Republic, he had but one footman and a servant-maid, and went on foot at the Hague, while his name ranked with those of the most potent Kings, in all the negociations of Europe; a man indefatigable in labour; remarkable for regularity, wisdom, and industry in business; an excellent citizen, a great politician, and, notwithstanding all this, extremely unfortunate.

He had contracted a friendship (a rare thing among Ministers) with Sir William Temple, who was then the English Ambassador at the Hague. Temple was a Philosopher, who united letters with business. He was a good man, notwithstanding the reproach which Bishop Burnet has objected to him, of atheism; born with the spirit of a wise republican, loving Holland as if it had been his native land, because it was free; and as tenacious of that freedom as the Grand Pensionary himself. These two citizens united themselves to the Count de Dhona, Ambassador from Sweden, to oppose the progress of the King of France.

This era was marked for rapid events. That part of Flanders which is now called French-Flanders, had been taken in three months; Franche-Comté, in three weeks. The treaty between Holland, England, and Sweden, to preserve the balance of Europe, and to suppress the ambition of Louis XIV. was proposed and concluded in five days*. The Council of the Emperor Leopold dared not enter into this league. He was bound by the secret treaty which he had entered into with the King of France, to strip the young King of Spain of his dominions. He secretly encouraged the union between Eng-

* This was called the *Triple Alliance*.

land, Sweden, and Holland, but ventured not to take any open measures.

Louis XIV. was incensed that so small a state as Holland should presume to form an idea of limiting his conquests, and of becoming the arbiter of Kings; and the more so, that it was capable of it. This presumption of the United Provinces was an affront which he was obliged to brook, but for which he, from that time, meditated vengeance.

All ambitious, powerful, and irritated as he was, he averted the storm which was beginning to rise throughout all Europe. He himself proposed a peace. France and Spain chose Aix-la-Chapelle for their place of conference, and the new-elected Pope Rospigliosi, Clement IX. for their mediator.

The Court of Rome, in order to hide its weakness under an appearance of power, left no means untried to gain the honour of being arbitrator between the Crowned Heads; and though she could not obtain it at the treaty of the Pyrenees, she seemed at least to have gained it at the peace made at Aix-la-Chapelle. A Nuncio was sent to the Congress to be the shadow of arbitration between those phantoms of Plenipotentiaries. The Dutch, already jealous of their glory, would not divide with any other power, that of concluding what they had themselves begun. Every thing, in fact, was carried on at St. Germain's, by the Ministry of their Ambassador, Van Beuning. All that was secretly agreed to by him, was dispatched to Aix-la-Chapelle, to be signed in due form by the Ministers assembled at the Congress. Who would have imagined, thirty years before, that France and Spain should be obliged to receive the mediation of a Citizen of Holland?

This Van Beuning, a Burgomaster of Amsterdam, had the vivacity of a Frenchman, with the pride of a Spaniard. He was pleased with every opportunity to mortify the imperious haughtiness of the King, and always opposed a republican inflexibility to that tone of superiority which the French Ministers affected to assume. "Will you

“not depend on the King’s promise?” said Monsieur de Lionne to him, in a conference. “I know not what the King may intend,” replied Van Beuning; “I only consider what he may do.”

In fine, at the Court of the proudest Monarch in the world, a simple Burgomaster concluded, by his own authority, a peace by which the King was obliged to relinquish the Province of Franche-Comté. The Dutch would rather have chosen that he had restored Flanders, and thereby have rid them of so dangerous a neighbour; but the rest of Europe thought that he had condescended sufficiently, in surrendering Franche-Comté; and he was contented with keeping possession of the towns of Flanders, which left the way open to him into Holland, whose destruction he had determined upon, at the very time he was complying with its terms.

C H A P. X.

The Works and Magnificence of Louis XIV. A singular Adventure in Portugal. Casimir in France. Succour given to Candia. Conquest of Holland.

LOUIS XIV. being obliged for some time to remain peaceable, continued, as he had begun, to regulate, fortify, and embellish his Kingdom. He proved that an absolute Monarch who wishes to do good, may attain every thing without difficulty. He had only to command, and the successes in the administration were as rapid as his conquests. It was a wonderful thing to see the sea-ports, which were formerly deserted, and gone to decay, now surrounded by works, that were at once their ornament and their defence, covered with ships and sailors, and already containing near sixty large vessels, ready to be equipped for war. New Colonies protected by the French flag, were every day embarking from all quarters, for America, for the East Indies, and the coasts of Africa. Nevertheless, in France, and under the King’s inspection, there were millions of men

employed in raising immense edifices, and in all those arts which architecture has introduced; while those of a more noble and ingenious kind adorned both the Court and City, and conferred upon France both pleasures and a lustre surpassing even the conception of former ages. Literature flourished, and good sense and true taste penetrated even into the schools of barbarism. All these details of the glory and felicity of the nation shall find their proper place in this history; but, at present, we are to speak only of general and military affairs.

Portugal at this time furnished Europe with an object of surprize. Don Alphonso, the unworthy son of the fortunate Don John of Braganza, reigned there. He was violent and weak. His wife, daughter to the Duke of Nemours, in love with Don Pedro, brother of Alphonso, dared to conceive a scheme for dethroning her husband, and marrying her gallant. His brutality justified the bold attempt. He was possessed of an uncommon strength of body. He had had publickly a child by a Courtezan, which he acknowledged for his own; and had besides cohabited for a long time with the Queen: nevertheless she accused him of impotency; and having by her address acquired that authority in the Kingdom which her husband had lost by his violence, she had him closely confined, and soon after obtained a dispensation from Rome for marrying her brother-in-law.

It is not so astonishing that Rome should have granted this indulgence, as it is that persons so powerful should require it. What Julius II. had without difficulty granted to King Henry VIII. of England, was conceded by Urban VIII. to the wife of a King of Portugal. The slightest endeavour may at one time bring about what the utmost efforts cannot at another time effect. There are always two weights and two measures for all the rights of Kings and of the people, and these two measures were kept at the Vatican ever since the Popes had power to influence the affairs of Europe. It would be almost impossible to believe that so many nations should have suffered so strange an authority to sub-

sist

sit in the Pontiff of Rome, were we not acquainted with the powerful effects of custom.

This event, which was a revolution only in the Royal Family, and not in the Kingdom, of Portugal, having caused no change in the affairs of Europe, merits our attention solely from its singularity.

France soon after received a visit from a King who quitted his Throne in a very different manner. John Casimir, King of Poland, renewed the example which Queen Christina had given. Fatigued with the toils of government, and desirous of living happily, he chose his retreat at Paris, in the Abbey of St. Germain, of which he himself was Abbot. Paris, become within some years past the residence of all the fine arts, formed a delightful retreat for a King who sought the social pleasures, and who had a taste for literature. He had been a Jesuit and a Cardinal before he was King; and being equally disgusted with the royal and the ecclesiastical state, his wish was to live like a private man, and a philosopher; and he would never suffer himself to be addressed at Paris by the title of *Majesty*.

But a more interesting affair now excited the attention of all the Christian Princes.

The Turks, less formidable indeed than in the time of the Mahomets, the Selims, and the Solimans, but dangerous still, and the stronger from our disunion, had for two years been laying siege to Candia with all the forces of their empire. It is difficult to say, whether it was most astonishing that the Venetians should have been able to have made so long a defence, or that the Kings of Europe should have abandoned them. ✓

Times were much altered. Formerly, when Christendom was yet in a state of barbarism, a Pope, or even a Monk, could send forth millions of Christians to make war on the Mahometans in their own empire. Our States exhausted both their men and money in endeavouring to conquer the wretched and barren Province of Judea; and now that the Isle of Candia, which was considered as the bulwark of Christendom, was over-run by sixty thousand Turks, it was looked upon as a loss

of no great importance by the Christian Powers. A few gallies, sent from Malta and from the Pope, were the only succours granted to this Republic for its defence against the whole Ottoman Empire. The Senate of Venice, whose measures were as ineffectual as they were prudent, could not, with her mercenary troops and such weak supplies, resist the power of the Grand Vizier, Kiuperli, who was an able Minister, a better General, master of the Turkish Empire, supported by a formidable army, and well provided also with able engineers.

The King in vain set an example to the other Princes of Europe, in assisting Candia. His galleys, and the ships newly constructed in the port of Toulon, conveyed thither seven thousand men, commanded by the Duke of Beaufort; an aid, indeed, very inadequate to the danger of their situation, as the generosity of the French was not emulated by any of the other States.

Sept. 16,
1669. La Feuillade, a private French gentleman, performed an action, at this crisis, which had no example except in the ancient times of Chivalry. He carried near three hundred gentlemen with him to the relief of Candia, at his own expence, although his fortune was but moderate. If any other nation had exerted itself for the Venetians in the same proportion with La Feuillade, it is probable that Candia might have been saved. But these succours served only to retard its fate for a few days, and to cause a great deal of blood to be shed to no purpose. The Duke of Beaufort perished in a sally; and Kiuperli at length by capitulation entered the town, which was then only an heap of ruins.

In this siege the Turks shewed great superiority over the Christians, even in the military art. The largest cannon which had ever been seen in Europe were cast in their camp. They were the first that formed parallel lines in the trenches. It is from them that we learned this method; but they had first adopted it from an Italian engineer. It is certain, that such a victorious people as the Turks were, with their experience, courage, opulence, and that perseverance in their undertakings which then formed their distinguishing character,

character, might have conquered Italy, and taken possession of Rome, in a very short time. But the weak Sultans which have since reigned over them, their bad Generals, and the defects in the constitution of their Government, have proved the security of Christianity.

The King, little affected with these foreign events, waited only for the ripening of his great design, the conquest of all the Low Countries, beginning with Holland. The opportunity grew every day more favourable. This little Republic was very powerful at sea, but had no strength by land. Allied with England and Spain, and at peace with France, she relied with too much confidence on the faith of treaties, and the advantages arising from an immense commerce. As much as her naval armies were well disciplined and invincible, in the same proportion were her land forces irregular and despicable. Their Cavalry was composed of burghers, who never quit their houses, but paid some of the dregs of the people to serve in their stead. The Infantry was equally contemptible. The Officers, and even those who had the command of garrisons, were the children, or near relations of Burgomasters, bred in idleness and inexperience, and considering their posts as Priests do their benefices. The Pensionary John de Witt attempted to reform this abuse, but did not exert himself sufficiently for the purpose; and this was one of the great faults of this republican.

It was first necessary to detach England from Holland. This alliance once broken, the destruction of the United Provinces appeared to be inevitable. It was not difficult for Louis XIV. to engage Charles II. in his designs. The English Monarch was indeed quite insensible to the disgrace thrown upon his reign and his nation, when his ships were burnt even in the river Thames by the Dutch fleet. He neither meditated revenge nor conquest. He wished to live only for his pleasures, and to reign without controul. Whatever could conduce towards these purposes, was his price. Louis, who at that time had but to speak to be supplied with money, promised a considerable sum to Charles,

1670. who had not the power to raise any without the consent of his Parliament. This secret league between the two Kings was confided to no person in France, except Madame, sister to Charles II. and wife to Monsieur, the King's only brother, to Louvois, and to Turenne.

A Princess of twenty-six years of age was chosen the Plenipotentiary to conclude this treaty with King Charles. Louis proposed visiting his new conquests of Lisle and Dunkirk, which served as a pretence for Madame's journey to England. The pomp and grandeur of the ancient Kings of Asia equalled not the splendour which attended this expedition. The King was preceded, or followed, by thirty thousand men; some designed to reinforce the garrisons of the conquered countries, others to be employed on the fortifications, and the rest to level the roads. Louis was accompanied by the Queen his consort, all the Princesses, and the most beautiful Ladies of his Court. Madame appeared in the midst of them with distinguished lustre; and in her heart enjoyed the satisfaction and glory of this vast parade, under which the motive of her journey was concealed. It was one continued scene of festivity from St. Germain's to Lisle.

The King, who wished to gain the hearts of his new subjects, and to dazzle the eyes of the neighbouring Princes, diffused his liberalities, where-ever he went, with a profuse hand; both gold and jewels were lavished upon every one who had the least pretence for being admitted to his presence. The Princess Henrietta embarked at Calais, to go and meet her brother, who waited her arrival at Canterbury. Charles, seduced by his love for his sister, and by the bribes of France, signed every thing that Louis XIV. desired, and planned the destruction of Holland in the midst of mirth and feasting.

The loss of Madame *, who immediately on her return died in a sudden and shocking manner, occasioned

* The Dutchess of Orleans, immediately after her return to France, was, in consequence of drinking a glass of succory water, by her

suspicious to be thrown out against Monsieur, but did not in the least change the resolutions of the two Kings. The spoils of the Republic which they purposed to destroy, were already divided in the secret treaty between them, as the French had before divided Flanders with the Dutch, in 1635. Thus do States frequently change their views, their allies, and their enemies, and are as frequently disappointed in all their projects.

The report of this approaching enterprize began to spread abroad, but Europe listened to it in silence. The Emperor, fully employed by the seditions in Hungary, Sweden lulled by negotiations, and Spain ever weak, ever slow, and irresolute, left a free and open field to the aspiring ambition of Louis XIV.

To compleat the ruin of Holland, it was at that time divided into two factions; the one, a party of severe Republicans, who considered the least shadow of despotic authority as a monster destructive to the laws of humanity; the other, a sett of moderate Republicans, who wished to invest the young Prince of Orange, afterwards the celebrated William III. with all the offices of his ancestors. The Grand Pensionary, John de Witt, and Cornelius, his brother, were at the head of the rigid supporters of Liberty: but the young Prince's party began to prevail; and the Republic, by paying more attention to its domestic disturbances than to the danger which threatened it from abroad, contributed herself to her own ruin.

An extraordinary change of manners, which has taken place among the Christian States for more than seven hundred years past, permitted Priests to be temporal lords and warriors. Louis kept the Archbishop of Cologne, Maximilian of Bavaria, and the noted Van Gale, Bishop of Munster and Abbé of Corbie, in pay, as he did the King of England, Charles II.

her physician's direction, seized with racking pains in her bowels, of which she died.

She was supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of her husband, who was offended at the too great intimacy that subsisted between her and his brother Louis XIV. *Translator.*

He had formerly assisted the Dutch against this Bishop, and now bribed him to crush them. This was a man of a singular character, which History should not neglect to make known. The son of a murderer, and born in the prison where his father had been confined for fourteen years, he rose to be Bishop of Munster by intrigues which were favoured by Fortune. He was scarcely elected Bishop, when he tried to strip the city of its privileges; and meeting with resistance, besieged it, laying waste the country with fire and slaughter which had chosen him for its Pastor. In the same manner did he treat his Abbey of Corbie. He was considered as a mercenary bravo, who would sometimes receive money from Holland to make war with her neighbours, and sometimes from France to act against that Republic.

Sweden did not attack the United Provinces, but abandoned them, as soon as she saw the threatening ruin; and renewed her treaties with France, on the condition of her former subsidies. In short, every thing conspired to the destruction of Holland.

It is singular, and worthy to be observed, that of all the enemies who combined to sink this little State, not one of them could alledge the least pretence for war. It was an undertaking similar to the league between Louis XII. the Emperor Maximilian, and the King of Spain, who had formerly combined together to destroy the Republic of Venice, because it was rich and proud.

The States General in the greatest consternation wrote to the King to enquire of him, in the humblest terms, if the preparations he was making were intended against them, his old and faithful allies? how they had offended him? and what reparation he demanded? To which he replied, "That he should make that use of his troops which his dignity required, and for which he was not accountable to any one." His Ministers could give no other reason than that the Holland Gazette had been too insolent, and that Van Beuning was said to have had a Medal struck, injurious to the honour of Louis XIV.

A taste

A taste for devices was then universal in France. They had given to Louis XIV. one of the Sun, with these words, *Nec pluribus impar* *. It was reported that Van Beuning had had himself represented with a Sun, and these words for his motto: *In conspectu meo stetit Sol*; "At my presence the Sun stood still †." This Medal never existed. It is certain that the States General caused one to be struck, whereon they expressed all the glorious deeds of the Republic: *Affertis legibus, emendatis sacris, adjutis, defensis, conciliatis regibus, vindicata marium libertate, stabilita orbis Europæ quiete*. "The laws asserted, Religion amended, Kings succoured, defended, and reconciled, the freedom of the seas vindicated, and Europe restored to peace." They in reality boasted of nothing more than they had actually done, yet they ordered the dye of this Medal to be broken, to appease the resentment of Louis XIV.

The King of England, on his part, complained that their fleet had not struck or lowered their flag to an English boat; and charged them, besides, with a certain picture, in which Cornelius de Witt, brother to the Pensionary, was painted with all the emblems of a conqueror. There were ships represented as taken and burnt, in the back-ground of the picture. Cornelius de Witt, who, in fact, had a considerable share in the maritime exploits against England, had, indeed, permitted this trifling monument to be raised to his fame; but this picture, almost unknown, was hung in a private room where it was scarcely ever seen.

* Not unequal to many.

† It is true that a medal was afterwards struck, in Holland, which was thought to be that of Van Beuning; but it had no date. It represents a battle, with the Sun darting its rays upon the combatants, with this motto, *Stetit Sol in medio Cæli*. This medal, which was coined at the expence of some private persons, was not struck 'till after the battle of Hochstet, in 1704, and was occasioned by these two lines, which were then current:

*Alter in egregio nuper certamine Josua
Clamavit, Sol sta gallice, solque stetit.*

Now Van Beuning was not named Joshua, but Conrad. *Voltaire.*

The

The English Ministers, who transmitted in writing the resentments of their King against Holland, therein specified certain abusive pictures. The Dutch, who always translated the memorials of foreign Ministers into French, having construed the word *abusive* into the French words *fautifs, trompeurs, false, or lying*, replied, that they did not know what was meant by these *lying pictures*. And indeed they never once conceived that it related to the above-mentioned circumstance, and therefore could not discover any manner of pretence for the war.

All that the efforts of ambition and human foresight could devise for the destruction of a nation, was put in practice by Louis XIV. The history of mankind scarcely furnishes us with an instance of such formidable preparations being made for so small an expedition. Of all the different conquerors who have invaded any part of the world, not one ever began the career of conquest with so many regular troops, and so much money, as Louis employed in subduing the petty State of the United Provinces. No less than fifty millions, which were worth ninety-seven millions of our present currency, were expended in these pompous preparations. Thirty men of war, of fifty guns each, joined the English fleet, consisting of an hundred sail. The King, accompanied by his brother, marched at the head of one hundred and twelve thousand men towards Maestricht and Charleroi, on the frontiers of Spanish Flanders and Holland. The Bishop of Munster and the Elector of Cologne had about twenty thousand more. The Prince of Condé and Marshal Turenne were the Generals of the King's army, and the Duke of Luxembourg commanded under them. Vauban had the direction of the sieges. Louvois was present in all places, with his usual vigilance.

Never was there so magnificent an army, and at the same time so well disciplined; but the King's household troops, which were newly reformed, made a most glorious appearance. They consisted of four companies of *gardes du corps*, or body-guards, each composed of three hundred gentlemen, among whom there were a considerable

derable number of young cadets, who served without pay, but were equally subject to military discipline with the rest; two hundred gendarmes of the guard; two hundred light-horse; five hundred mousquetaires; all chosen gentlemen, remarkable for their youth and handsome appearance; twelve companies of gendarmerie, since augmented to the number of sixteen; even the Hundred-Swiss regiment accompanied the King on this occasion, and the royal regiment of French and Swiss guards mounted before the house or the tent he occupied. These troops, the greater part covered with gold and silver, were at once the object of terror and admiration to a people who were strangers to all kind of magnificence; and the exact discipline which was kept up in his army, made it appear in a different light to any that had yet been seen.

There were at that time no Inspectors of the horse and foot, as there have been since; but these offices were then performed by two men who were singular in their way. Martinet * put the infantry upon the footing of the discipline in which we now see it; and the Cavalier de Fourilles did the same with the cavalry. Martinet had, a year before, introduced the use of the bayonet in some regiments: before him, it had never been made use of in a constant or uniform manner. This last effort, of what perhaps is the most terrible of the whole military art, was already known, but had been little practised, because spears were still much in use. This same officer likewise invented copper boats for bridges, which might easily be transported in waggons, or on the backs of mules. The King, secure of success and glory from all these advantages, carried along with him an Historian to write his conquests. This was Pelisson, of whom mention has been made, in the article of Polite Arts; a person more capable of writing well, than of avoiding flattery.

What advanced the ruin of Holland still more, was, that the Marquis de Louvois had secretly employed the

* Hence all strict disciplinarians have been distinguished by the name of Martinets. *Translator.*

Count de Benthem to purchase from themselves a great part of the ammunition designed for their own destruction, and by this means had disfurnished their magazines. It is not in the least surprising that their merchants should have sold these military stores before a declaration of war, when they sell them every day to their enemies, during the most desperate contests. 'Tis known to every one that a merchant of that country formerly replied to Prince Maurice, who reprehended him for such a traffic, "My Lord, if I could by sea carry on an advantageous trade with Hell, I would run the hazard of scorching my sails there." But what is really surprising is, that they have asserted in print that the Marquis de Louvois went himself in disguise, to transact this business in Holland. How could any one invent a story so absurd, or imagine an attempt so hazardous and so unnecessary too?

Against Condé, Turenne, Luxembourg, Vauban, an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men, a powerful train of artillery, and immense sums of money to bribe the fidelity of those who commanded garrison-towns, what had the Republic of Holland to oppose? A young Prince of a weakly constitution, who had never seen a battle or a siege, and about twenty-five thousand bad soldiers, which were all the strength of the country. William, Prince of Orange, who was about twenty-two years old, had lately been elected Captain-General of the land-forces, by the voice of the nation. John de Witt, the Great Pensionary, was obliged to consent to it. This Prince, under the Dutch phlegm nourished an ardent ambition of glory, which ever afterwards manifested itself in his conduct, without ever betraying itself in his discourse. He was of a cold and severe disposition, but of an active and penetrating genius. His courage, which never desponded, supported his feeble and languid body under fatigues which seemed above his strength. He was valiant without ostentation, ambitious tho' an enemy to pomp, and endowed by nature with a phlegmatic obstinacy, formed for combating adversity. He delighted in war and politics, and
was

was equally a stranger to the joys of society, or the pleasures attendant upon greatness; in a word, he was in almost every respect the reverse of Louis XIV.

He was unable at first to make head against the torrent which overflowed his country. His forces were inconsiderable, and even his authority was greatly limited by the States. The whole power of France was ready to fall upon Holland, which had no resources. The imprudent Duke of Lorraine, who endeavoured to raise troops in order to join his fortune with that of the Republic, had just beheld his country seized upon by the French troops with as much facility as they can possess themselves of Avignon, on any quarrel with the papal see.

In the mean time the King caused his armies to advance, on the side of the Rhine, into those countries which border upon Holland, Cologne, and Flanders. He ordered money to be distributed among the inhabitants of all the villages, to compensate for the damages occasioned by the march of his troops through them. If any gentleman made the least complaint to him, he was sure of being dismissed with a present. An Envoy being sent from the Governor of the Netherlands to make a representation of some disorders committed by the soldiers, the King with his own hand presented him with his picture, richly set in diamonds, and valued at above twelve thousand franks. This behaviour attracted the admiration of the people, and augmented their respect for his power.

The King was at the head of his household, and a body of his choicest troops, which amounted to thirty thousand men. Turenne had the command under him. The Prince of Condé was likewise at the head of as strong an army. The other corps, commanded alternately by Luxembourg and Chamilli, formed occasionally separate armies, which could all join one another in case of necessity.

The campaign was opened by the siege of four towns at once, Rhinberg, Orsoi, Wesel, and Bürick; names which merit a place in history only on account of this event.

event. These were all taken, almost as soon as they were invested. Rhinberg, which the King thought proper to besiege in person, did not wait the discharge of a single cannon; and, in order to make more sure of its reduction, means had been found to corrupt the Lieutenant of the garrison, one Dofferi, an Irishman, who, after having been base enough to sell his trust, was so imprudent as to retire to Maestricht, where the Prince of Orange punished his treachery with death.

All the strong holds upon the Rhine and the Iffel surrendered. Some of the Governors sent the keys of their towns as soon as they perceived one or two squadrons of the French appear in sight. Several Officers fled from the places where they were in garrison, even before the enemy had entered their territories; in short, the consternation was general. The Prince of Orange had not a sufficient force to take the field. All Holland prepared to submit to the yoke, as soon as the King should cross the Rhine. The Prince of Orange caused lines to be drawn, with the utmost haste, on the other side the river; and even after he had done this, he was sensible how impossible it was for him to defend them. Nothing now remained but to discover, if possible, in what part the French intended to throw over a bridge, in order to oppose their passage. In fact, it was the King's intention to pass the river on a bridge of those little copper boats contrived by Martinet. At that time the Prince of Condé had received information from some of the country-people, that the dryness of the season had formed a ford on a branch of the Rhine, near an old castle, which served as an office for the toll-gatherers, and was called *Toll Huis*, or, the Toll-house. The King ordered this ford to be sounded by the Count de Guiche. According to Pelisson, who was an eye-witness to the whole, and which was since confirmed to me by the inhabitants, there was not above twenty paces to swim over, in the midst of this arm of the river. This was in fact nothing, for a number of horses a-breast entirely broke the current of the water, which was of itself very weak. The landing on the opposite side was very easy, as it
was

was defended only by four or five hundred horsemen, and two weak regiments of foot, without any cannon. The French artillery played upon those in flank, while the household troops, and some of the best of the cavalry, crossed the river without any hazard, to the number of fifteen thousand men.

The Prince of Condé crossed at the same time, in one of the copper boats. Some few Dutch Officers, who at first made a show of advancing into the water in order to oppose their landing, betook themselves to flight the instant the French troops drew near the shore, unable to stand before the multitude which came pouring upon them. The foot immediately laid down their arms, and called for quarter. This passage was effected with the loss only of Count Nugent, and a few horsemen, who were drowned by missing the ford; and there would not have been a single life lost that day, had it not been for the imprudence of the young Duke of Longueville, who being, as it is said, overheated with wine, fired his pistol at some of the enemy's people, who had laid down their arms and were begging their lives, crying out, "Give the scoundrels no quarter;" and drawing his trigger, shot an Officer dead. Upon this the Dutch infantry, in a fit of despair, instantly flew to their arms and made a general discharge, by which the Duke of Longueville himself was killed. A Captain of their horse, named Offembrouk, who had not fled with the rest, rode up to the Prince of Condé, who was just got on shore, and going to mount his horse, and aimed his pistol at his head. The Prince turned the weapon aside with his hand, and received only a wound in his wrist; which was the only one he ever received in all his campaigns. The French immediately fell sword in hand upon this small body, which began to fly on all sides. In the mean time the King crossed the river with the rest of the army, on a bridge of boats.

Such was the passage of the Rhine; an action which made a great noise, was singular in its kind, and was celebrated at that time as one of those great events

which ought to remain in the memory of mankind. The air of greatness with which the King performed all his actions, the rapid success of his victories, the glory of his reign, the adulation of his courtiers, and, lastly, the fondness which the common people, especially those of Paris, have in general for every thing that appears extraordinary, joined to that ignorance of military operations, which prevails among those who pass a life of idleness in great cities, made this passage of the Rhine be looked upon as a prodigy, which is still spoken of with admiration. It was the common opinion, that the whole army had swam across the river in presence of the enemy entrenched on the opposite side, and in defiance of the fire from an impregnable fortress called the *Tall Huis*. It is a certain truth, that the enemy themselves were taken by surprize, in this affair; and that if they had had a body of good troops on the other side of the river, the attempt would have been extremely dangerous.

As soon as the French army had passed the Rhine, it took Doeshourg, Zutphen, Arnheim, Nofenburg, Nimeguen, Shenk, Bommel, Creveccœur, &c. and there was scarcely an hour in the day in which the King did not receive the news of some fresh conquest. An Officer, named Mazel, sent Monsieur de Turenne word, "That if he would send him fifty horse, he would engage to make himself master of two or three places."

The inhabitants of Utrecht sent the keys of their city to the conqueror, and it capitulated, together with the whole province which bears its name. Louis
 June 20, made his entry into this city in triumph, ac-
 1672. companied by his High-almoner, his Confessor, and the titular Bishop of Utrecht. The high church was with great solemnity delivered up to the Catholics; and the Bishop of Utrecht, who had hitherto only held the empty title, was now for a little time put into possession of the real dignity. The religion of Louis XIV. conquered, as well as his arms. It was a right which he had acquired over Holland, in the opinion of the Catholics.

The Provinces of Utrecht, Overyffel, and Gueldres, were reduced, and Amsterdam only waited the hour of its slavery or destruction. The Jews who are settled there made interest with Gourville, the Prince of Condé's confident, and chief manager of his affairs, to accept of two millions of florins, to save them from being plundered.

Naerden, which is in the neighbourhood of Amsterdam, was already taken. Four horsemen, who were on a marauding party, advanced to the very gates of Muyden, which is not above a mile from Amsterdam, and where the sluices are fixed by which the country may be laid under water. The magistrates, struck with a panic at the sight of these four soldiers, came out and offered them the keys of the town; but at length perceiving that no other troops came up, they took back the keys and shut the gates again*. A moment's diligence more would have put Amsterdam into the King's hands. This capital once taken, not only the Republic itself must have fallen, but there would no longer have been such a Republic as Holland, and even the country itself would have been annihilated.

Some of the richest families, and those who were most zealous lovers of liberty, were preparing to fly to the extremity of the globe, and embark for Batavia. There was actually a list made out of the shipping fit for undertaking this voyage, and a calculation of the numbers they would carry; when it was found, that fifty thousand families might be thus transported into their new country. Holland then would have existed only in the farther end of the East-Indies: its provinces in Europe, which purchase their corn with the riches they import from Asia, and which subsist wholly upon their commerce, and their liberty, if I may use that expression, would have been almost in an instant depopulated and ruined. Amsterdam, the mart and warehouse of Europe, where three hundred thousand persons are daily

* The castle or citadel of Muyden was preserved by a female servant, who raised up the draw-bridge, and so prevented the French stragglers from taking possession of it.

employed in cultivating arts and trade, would have become one vast marsh. All the lands round about require an immense expence, and thousands of men to raise their dykes: those would, in all probability, have been stripped at once of their inhabitants and riches, and at length buried in the sea, leaving to Louis XIV. only the deplorable glory of having destroyed the most singular and most beautiful monument of human industry in the world.

The distresses of the State were still farther encreased by the divisions which commonly arise among unfortunate people, who impute to each other the public calamities. The Grand Pensionary, De Witt, thought there was no other way left to save what remained of his wretched country, but by suing to the victors for peace. Full of a republican spirit, and jealous of his personal authority, he ever dreaded the aggrandizement of the House of Orange, still more even than the conquests of the French King. On this account he had obliged the Prince of Orange himself to swear to the observance of a perpetual edict, by which he was excluded from the Stadtholdership. Honour, authority, party-spirit, and self-interest, all concurred to make De Witt a strenuous assertor of this oath; preferring rather to see his country subdued by a victorious King, than under subjection to a Stadtholder.

The Prince of Orange, on his side, more ambitious than De Witt, but as much attached to his country, more patient under public calamities, and hoping every thing from time and his own unshaken constancy, tried all means to obtain the Stadtholdership, and opposed a peace with equal vehemence. The States, however, came to a resolution to sue for it, in spite of the Prince; but he was raised to the Stadtholdership, in spite of De Witt*.

Four Deputies arrived in the King's camp, to implore
1672. mercy in the name of a Republic, who six
months before looked upon itself as the

* He was made Stadtholder the first of July. How could La Beaumelle pretend to say, in his surreptitious Edition of the Age of Louis XIV. that he was only appointed General and Admiral?

arbiter of Kings. Louis's Ministers did not receive the Deputies with that French politeness, which blends the mildness of civility with the severity of government. Louvois, who was of an haughty and arrogant disposition, and seemed better suited to serve his master well, than to make him beloved, received the suppliants in a disdainful manner, and even with insulting raillery. They were obliged to attend, several times, before the King would deign to make his pleasure known to them. At length they were told, that his Majesty expected the States-General should give up all the places they were in possession of on the other side of the Rhine, with Nimeguen, and several other towns and forts in the heart of their country; that they should pay him twenty millions of livres; that the French should be masters of transporting merchandize on all the principal roads in Holland, both by land and water, without ever paying any duty; that the Roman-Catholic religion should be every where established; that the Republic should send an extraordinary embassy to the French Court every year, together with a golden medal, on which should be engraved a legend, importing that they held their freedom of Louis XIV.; lastly, that they should make satisfaction to the King of England, and the Princes of the Empire, the Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Munster, who had joined in the desolation of their country.

A peace on these conditions, which were little better than articles of slavery, appeared insupportable. The haughtiness of the conqueror inspired the vanquished with a desperate courage, and it was unanimously resolved to die sword in hand. The hearts and hopes of every one were now fixed upon the Prince of Orange. The populace grew furious against the Grand Pensionary, who had sued for peace. The Prince by his politics, and his party by their animosity, increased the ferment. An attempt was made upon the Grand Pensionary's life; and afterwards his brother Cornelius was accused of a design to murder the Prince, and was put to the rack. In the midst of his tortures he repeated the beginning of this Ode of Horace, *Iustum & tenacem propositi vi-*

rum *, &c. which perfectly well suited with his condition and courage, and which may be thus translated, for the sake of those who do not understand Latin:

The man resolved, and steady to his trust,
 Inflexible to ill, and obstinately just,
 May the rude rabble's insolence despise,
 Their senseless clamours, and tumultuous cries;
 The tyrant's fierceness he beguiles,
 And the stern brow, and the harsh voice despises,
 And with superior greatness smiles.

Not the rough whirlwind that deforms
 Adria's black gulf, and vexes it with storms,
 The stubborn virtue of his soul can move;
 Nor the red arm of angry Jove,
 That darts the thunder from the sky,
 And gives it rage to roar, and strength to fly.
 Should the whole frame of Nature round him break,
 In ruin and confusion hurled,
 He unconcerned would hear the mighty crack,
 And stand secure amidst a falling world †.

At length the two brothers were massacred at the Hague, by the mad multitude, after one of
 Aug. 20, them had governed the State above nineteen
 1672. years with the most unspotted integrity, and
 the other had defended it by his sword. The most shocking cruelties which could enter into the imagination of a furious populace, were exercised upon their dead bodies. These barbarities are common in all nations; the French themselves had exercised them upon the Marshal d'Ancre, Admiral Coligni, &c. for the populace is almost every where the same. They wreaked their vengeance upon all the Pensionary's friends: even De Ruyter himself, the Republic's Admiral, and who was the only one who fought her battles with success, had his house surrounded by assassins at Amsterdam.

In the midst of these disorders and desolations, the Magistrates gave an example of integrity rarely met

* Ode III. Lib. III.

† The Ode extends to sixty-four lines farther; but this is full as much as a man can be supposed to have repeated, on the rack.

with

with but in Republics *. Those private persons who were possessed of Bank-notes, ran in crowds to the Bank of Amsterdam, apprehending that the public stock had been broken in upon, and every one was for being paid with the little money supposed to be left. The Magistrates immediately ordered the vaults to be opened, where this treasure is kept, when it was found entire, as it had been deposited there above sixty years past. The money was still black and discoloured with the fire which had burnt down the town-house, several years before. The Bank-notes had been negotiated till that time, and the money had never been touched: every one was then paid in cash, who chose to receive it. So much integrity, and so powerful a resource, was at that time the more admirable, as Charles II. of England, not satisfied with the money he had received from France, and wanting a farther supply to carry on his war against the Dutch, and answer the expence of his pleasures, had lately become bankrupt. If it was shameful in this Monarch thus to violate public faith, it was the more glorious in the Magistrates of Amsterdam to preserve it, at a time when they might have had a plausible excuse for a failure.

To this republican virtue they added that courageous spirit, which has recourse to the utmost extremities in irremediable evils. They ordered the dykes which keep out the sea to be thrown down. The country-seats, which are in prodigious numbers about Amsterdam, the villages, and the neighbouring cities of Leyden and Delft, were in an instant laid under water. The peasant beheld his flocks drowned in the pastures, without once murmuring. Amsterdam stood like a vast fortress in the midst of the waves, encircled by ships of war, which had water enough to ride all round the city. The people suffered great want; they were in particular distressed for fresh water, which sold for six sous the pint; but these extremities seemed less grievous than slavery. It

* Why so partial to Republics? Is there neither honour or honesty in Monarchies? This compliment was written, probably, for the meridian of Geneva.

is worthy of observation, that Holland, thus distressed by land, and no longer a State, still retained its power at sea, which was this nation's true element.

When Louis XIV. was crossing the Rhine, and reducing three provinces, the Dutch Admiral, De Ruyter, with an hundred sail of men of war, and about fifty fire-ships, sailed for the English coast, in quest of the combined fleets of the two sovereigns; who, notwithstanding they had united their forces by sea, were not able to fit out a naval armament superior to that of the Dutch. The English and Dutch fought like people accustomed to dispute the empire of the sea with each other. This battle, which was fought near

June 7,
1672.

Solebay, lasted a whole day. Ruyter, who made the signal for beginning the engagement, attacked the English Admiral's ship, in which was the Duke of York, the King's brother. De Ruyter gained all the glory of this single combat*; the Duke of York was obliged to go on board another ship, and never faced the Dutch Admiral afterwards. The French Squadron, consisting of thirty ships, had little share in this action; and so decisive was the fortune of this day, that it put the coast of Holland out of danger.

After this battle, De Ruyter, notwithstanding the fears and opposition of his countrymen, convoyed the fleet from the East-Indies safe into the Texel; thus defending and enriching his country on one side, while she was falling to ruin on the other. The Dutch even kept up their commerce, and no colours but theirs were to be seen in the Indian seas. One day the French Consul telling the King of Persia, that his master, Louis XIV. had conquered almost all Holland; "How can that be," (replied the Monarch) "when there is now in the port of Ormus twenty Dutch ships, for one French?"

The Prince of Orange, however, had the ambition of being a good citizen. He made an offer to the State

* There could be no glory lost on either side; for the Duke did not quit his ship till she was disabled, and De Ruyter declared that this was the most obstinate of two-and-thirty actions in which he had been engaged.

of the revenues of his posts, and of all his private fortune, towards the support of the common cause. He overflowed all the passés by which the French could penetrate into the rest of the country. By his prompt and secret negotiations he raised the Emperor, the Empire, the Spanish Council, and the government of Flanders, from their lethargy: he even disposed the English Court to listen to peace. In a word, Louis had entered Holland only in May, and by the month of July all Europe was in confederacy against him.

Monterey, Governor of Flanders, sent a few regiments privately to the assistance of the United Provinces. The Emperor Leopold's Council likewise dispatched Montecuculi, at the head of twenty thousand men; and the Elector of Brandenburg took the field with twenty-five thousand troops, whom he kept in his own pay.

The King now quitted his army, as there were no more conquests to be made in a country that was overflowed. It was even become difficult to keep the Provinces which had been conquered. Louis was desirous of gaining glory; but not being willing to purchase it at the expence of indefatigable labour, he lost it again. Contented with having taken such a number of places in the space of two months, and leaving Turenne and Luxembourg to finish the war, he returned to St. Germain's, about the middle of the summer, to enjoy his triumphs. But while his subjects were every where erecting monuments of his conquests, the Powers of Europe were at work to snatch them out of his hands.

1672/3, 1674
 C H A P. XI.

Holland evacuated. Franche Comté conquered a second Time.

WE think it necessary to advertise those who may read this work, that they are to remember it is not a bare relation of campaigns, but rather an history of

of the manners of mankind. There are already a sufficient number of books filled with the minute particulars of military actions, and details of human rage and misery. The design of this Essay is to describe the principal characters of these revolutions, and to pass over the multitude of trifling facts, in order to set to view those only which are considerable, and (if it is possible) the spirit by which they were actuated.

France had now arrived at the pinnacle of its glory. The name of her Generals imprinted awe. Her Ministers were considered in a superior light to the Counsellors of other Princes; and Louis was, in effect, the sole King in Europe. The Emperor Leopold never appeared in his armies; Charles II. King of Spain, was in his infancy; and the King of England shewed no activity in his character, except in the pursuit of pleasure.

Every one of these Princes and their Ministers committed great oversights. England acted against the principles of all state policy, in uniting with France, to strengthen a power that it was her interest to keep weak. The Emperor, the Empire, and the Ministry of Spain, were guilty of still greater indiscretion, in not joining together to resist this torrent, at the beginning. In short, Louis himself committed as great an error as any of the rest, in not pursuing such easy conquests with more rapidity.

Condé and Turenne advised him to demolish the greatest part of the places he had taken from the Dutch. They told him that it is not by garrisons that countries are conquered, but by armies; and that after securing one or two fortified towns, for the convenience of a retreat, he should not delay a moment to compleat his conquest. Louvois, on the contrary, was for fortifying and garrisoning every place they got possession of. This was his genius, and the King's sentiment concurred with his.

Louvois had by this means more offices to dispose of. It extended the power of his ministry, and gratified his vanity, at the same time, to thwart the two greatest Generals of the age. Louis took his advice, and deceived

wed himself, as he afterwards confessed. He suffered the favourable minute to escape him for seizing the Capital of Holland; he enfeebled his army by occupying too many places; and afforded the enemy time for breathing. A history of the greatest Princes is often but a recital of human errors.

After the departure of the King, affairs assumed another aspect. Turenne was obliged to march towards Westphalia, to oppose the Imperialists. Monterey, Governor of Flanders, without the timid Spanish Council avowing it, reinforced the small army of the Prince of Orange with about ten thousand men, which enabled him to keep his ground against the French till the winter. It was enough even to hold Fortune at bay, for the present.

At length the winter arrived, and the overflowed country of Holland was covered with ice. Luxembourg, who commanded in Utrecht, attempted a new species of war, before unknown to the French, and threw Holland into an unforeseen kind of danger, as alarming as any it had before experienced.

He assembled together, one night, about twelve thousand infantry, drawn from the neighbouring garrisons, whose shoes he had ordered to be frost-shod. At the head of this body of men he set out, and directed his march over the ice, towards Leyden and the Hague. A thaw comes on, and saves the Hague. His army surrounded by water, having neither road nor victuals, was in a most forlorn situation. There was no way to get back to Utrecht but by marching over a narrow marshy dike, where four men could hardly walk a-breast; nor was there any gaining this pass, but by attacking a fort, which seemed impregnable without artillery. If this redoubt had held out only one day, the whole army must have perished through hunger and fatigue. Luxembourg was without resource; but Fortune, who had protected the Hague, saved his army also, by the cowardice of the Governor of the fortress, who abandoned his post, without any apparent necessity. There are a number of events in war, as well as in civil life, which

which are not to be accounted for. This was one of them.

All the fruit of this enterprize was an action of cruelty, which completely rendered the French name odious in this country. Bodegrave and Swammerdam, two considerable villages, rich and populous, and as large as some of our middling towns, were abandoned to the plunder of the troops, as a recompence for their fatigue. They set both the towns on fire, and by the light of their flames rioted in debauchery and barbarity.

It is matter of surprize, that the French soldiery should be such barbarians, when we reflect that they were commanded by so great a number of Officers, who deservedly bear the character of equal bravery and humanity. This pillage was so exaggerated, that, above forty years after the event, I saw Dutch books, printed for the use of reading-schools, in which the story was related, to impress the rising generation with a hatred against the French.

^{1673.} In the mean time the King was active in the cabinets of all the Princes, by negotiations. He brought over the Duke of Hanover. The Elector of Brandenburg, on engaging in the war, concluded a treaty, which he soon after infringed. In every Court of Germany Louis had his pensioners. His emissaries fomented in Hungary the disturbances that had arisen in the Provinces by the severity of the Council of Vienna. Large sums were sent into England, to induce Charles II. to enter into a second war with Holland, in spite of the discontents of the whole nation, which repented its being rendered an instrument towards the aggrandizement of Louis XIV. whom it ought rather to have humbled.

All Europe was disturbed by the arms and intrigues of Louis. He could not, however, prevent the Emperor, the Empire, and Spain, from entering into alliance with the Dutch, and openly making a declaration of war against him. He had so far reversed the course of politics, that the Dutch, who were his natural allies, were become the friends of the House of Austria. The Emperor Leopold supplied his quota slowly, but expressed great animosity against the French. It is said, that go-
ing

ing to Egra*, to review the troops he had assembled there, he received the communion at one of his staves, and after the service took the crucifix in his hand, and appealed to God for the justice of his cause. At the time of the Crusades, such a piece of religious solemnity might have had its effect; but Leopold's invocation did not arrest the progress of the arms of France.

It was soon apparent how much his marine had been improved. Instead of thirty vessels, which had, the year before, been added to the English fleet, he now supplied forty sail, exclusive of fire-ships. His naval officers had been instructed by the English in the expert manœuvres with which they fought their enemies the Dutch. It was the Duke of York, afterwards James II. who first invented the art of communicating orders at sea, by the different signals of the flags. Before this time the French knew nothing of the method of arranging a fleet in a line of battle. Their experience consisted only in fighting one ship against another, but not in bringing squadrons to act in concert together, and to perform at sea all the evolutions of an army at land, where the separate corps are brought reciprocally to sustain and succour each other. They might in this instance be properly compared to the Romans, who in one year learned from the Carthaginians the art of fighting at sea, and at once became equal to their masters.

The Vice-Admiral D'Etrées, and his Lieutenant Martel, did honour to the military industry of the French nation, in three successive naval engagements, fought in the month of June, between the Dutch fleet and the united squadrons of France and ^{June 7, 14,} ^{and 21, 8, 73} England. Admiral Ruyter exceeded himself in these three actions. D'Etrées wrote thus to Colbert: "I would willingly have lost my life to have gained the glory that Ruyter has acquired;" and D'Etrées as well deserved the same compliment from Ruyter. The bravery and conduct were so equally

* A City in Bohemia.

matched on both sides, that it was doubtful which had a right to claim the victory.

Louis having made the French good sailors by the assistance of Colbert, improved the art of field-war by the help of Vauban. He went in person to besiege Maestricht, just at the time of these three naval actions. This town was to him the key of the Low-Countries and the United Provinces. The place was well defended by a brave Governor, whose name was Farjoux, born in France, who had been first in the Spanish service, and then passed into that of the Dutch. The garrison consisted of five hundred men.

Vauban, who conducted the siege, here made use of the parallels, for the first time, invented by the Italian engineers in the service of the Turks before Candia. To these he added the place of arms, that is made in trenches for arranging troops in battle array, and to rally them the better, in case of a sally. Louis shewed himself more exact and laborious in this siege, than he had ever done before. He accustomed his Officers, by his own example, to endure toil with patience; thereby vindicating them from the charge formerly urged against the nation, of being soldiers of an impetuous courage, but incapable of enduring fatigue. Maestricht surrendered in about eight days.

June 29,
1673.

For the better establishment of military discipline, he made use of a severity which was thought carried to excess. The Prince of Orange, who had at first only Officers without emulation, and soldiers without courage, had formed them at length to discipline by the force of rigour, delivering over to the executioner every man that quitted his post. The King also made use of severity, the very first place he lost.

A very gallant officer, named Du-Pas, surrendered Naerden to the Prince of Orange.

Septem. 14,
1673. He had, indeed, stood a siege of only four days; but then he did not give up the place till after a warm action, which held five hours, upon bad works, and to avoid a general assault, which so feeble and disheartened

heartened a garrison was unable to sustain. The King, provoked at the first affront his arms had suffered, sentenced Du-Pas to be led through the town of Utrecht with a shovel in his hand, and to have his sword broke before his face*. A needless ignominy for French Officers, who are too sensible of glory, to need their being governed by a fear of shame †.

It is to be observed, however, that by a Commandant's commission, he is obliged to sustain three assaults; but this is among the laws that are never regarded †. Du-Pas, the following year, fell at the siege of the little town of Grave, whither he went a volunteer. His courage and his death ought to have impressed the Marquis de Louvois with regret, who was the adviser of his too severe treatment. Sovereign power may use a brave man ill, but should never dishonour him.

The attentions of the King, the talents of Vauban, the severity and vigilance of Louvois, the experience and military knowledge of Turenne, the activity and intrepidity of the Prince of Conde; all these together were not able to repair the error that had been committed in weakening the army, by keeping too many places garrisoned, and in not taking Amsterdam.

The Prince of Conde made a fruitless attempt to penetrate into the heart of Holland, which was laid under water. Turenne could neither oppose the junction of Montecuculi with the Prince of Orange, nor prevent

* La Beaumelle says, in his Memoirs, that he was condemned to imprisonment for life. But this could not be true, as the year after, he was slain at the siege of Grave. I should think that he must have wanted either spirit or bread, ever to have served under Louis again; though he only served as a volunteer.

† Here appears another of Voltaire's partialities to his nation. He seems to appropriate the general character of a soldier to the French Officers exclusively. The English, Dutch, Spanish, and German, are the same. *Translator.*

‡ I here certainly should be left a discretionary power in the Governor, to act as circumstances may happen; or he is not fit to command. *Ibid.*

the Prince of Orange from taking Bonn†. The Bishop of Munster, who had vowed the destruction of the States-General, was himself attacked by them.

The Parliament of England forced its King to enter seriously into negociations for a peace, and to cease being the mercenary instrument of the greatness of France. Louis was therefore reduced to the necessity of abandoning the three Dutch Provinces as speedily as he had conquered them; but not till after there had been as much extorted from them as might have purchased their ransom. The Intendant Robert had assessed the single Province of Utrecht, in one year, in the sum of sixteen hundred and sixty-eight thousand florins. But in such a hurry were they to evacuate the country, which they had possessed themselves of with so much rapidity, that twenty-eight thousand Dutch prisoners were redeemed at a crown a-head. The triumphal arch of St. Denis's gate, and the other monuments of the conquest, were scarcely finished, when the conquest itself was surrendered.

The Dutch, during the course of this invasion, had the honour of disputing the empire of the sea, and the address of removing the theatre of the land-war out of their own country; and Louis XIV. was thought throughout Europe to have enjoyed too prematurely, and too haughtily, the glory of a transient triumph.

The fruit of this enterprize was to have a bloody war to sustain against Spain, the Empire, and Holland, united; to be abandoned by England, and at length by Munster, and even by Cologne; and to leave the countries he had invaded, and was forced to relinquish, impressed with more hatred than admiration of him.

The King supported himself alone against all the enemies he had made. The foresight of his Government, and the resources of his state, appeared the greater, now that he had such strong Powers leagued against him, and such experienced Generals to contend with, than when he took, *en passant* as it were, French Flanders, Franche-

† A town of Germany, the Capital of Cologne.

Comté, and half of Holland, from unprepared adversaries.

It may be remarked, upon this occasion, the advantage an absolute Monarch, whose finances are well administered, possesses above other Sovereigns. He at one and the same time sent an army of twenty-three thousand men against the Imperialists, under the command of Turenne; furnished the Prince of Condé with another of forty thousand, to oppose the Prince of Orange; had a body of troops stationed on the frontier of Roussillon*; dispatched a fleet of transports freighted with land-forces; to carry the war into Spain up to the gates of Messina; and marched himself at the head of an army to make a second conquest of Franche-Comté. In fine, he at once both defended himself, and attacked his enemies.

On the very commencement of this new expedition against Franche-Comté, the superiority of his administration visibly appeared. He exerted himself to gain over the Swifs to his party, or at least to lull into a neutrality a nation as formidable as poor, always in arms, jealous to the last degree of their liberty, invincible on their own frontiers, and already murmuring and alarmed at seeing Louis XIV. a second time in their neighbourhood.

The Emperor and Spain solicited these Thirteen Cantons to permit, at least, a free passage to their troops to be sent to the relief of Franche-Comté, left without defence by the negligence of the Spanish Ministry: Louis, on the other hand, pressed them to refuse this passage. But the Emperor and Spain were liberal only in arguments and intreaties, while Louis with ready money in hand † determined them in his favour, and the passage was accordingly refused.

Louis, accompanied by his brother and the son of the Great Condé, besieged Besançon. He was fond of this part of the military science, and understood it as well

* Bordering on Catalonia, a Province of Spain. *Translator.*

† The bribe paid down, as mentioned in some memoirs, was a million of livres, and a promise of six hundred thousand more. *Ibid.*

as Turenne or Condé. But however jealous he was of glory, he acknowledged that those two Generals were greater masters of the field-war than himself. Besides, he never laid siege to a town, without being morally certain of carrying it; for Louvois always made such excellent dispositions, the troops were so well provided, and Vauban, who generally conducted the manœuvres, was so great a master of the engineering art, that the glory of the King was secured before-hand.

May 15.
1674. Vauban directed the attacks against Besançon, which was taken in nine days; and in about six weeks time all Franche-Comté submitted to the King. It has remained to France ever since, and seems now to be annexed to it for ever, as a monument of the weakness of the Austrian-Spanish Ministry, and of the vigour of that of Louis XIV.

C H A P. XII.

A glorious Campaign. The death of Marshal Turenne. The last Battle of the Great Condé, at Senef.*

WHILE the King was carrying every thing before him in Franche-Comté with that rapidity, ease, and éclat, which hitherto seemed to attend his fortune; Turenne, who only acted defensively on the frontiers towards the Rhine, displayed all that was great and consummate in the art of war. Our esteem for men is measured by the difficulties surmounted; and it was this consideration that intitled Turenne to so great a reputation on account of this campaign.

June, 1674. At setting-out he made a long and forced march, passed the Rhine at Philipsburg, marched all night to Sintzheim, took it by storm, and at the same time attacked and put to the rout Caprara, the Emperor's General, with the old Duke of Lorraine,

* A town of Brabant, in the Austrian Netherlands. *Translator.*
Charles

Charles IV.; a Prince whose whole life had passed in losing his territories and raising forces, and who had just then joined his little army to a detachment from that of the Emperor.

Turenne, after having defeated; pursued July, him; routed his cavalry at Ladimburg; 1674. and from thence without pause pressed forward to meet another of the Imperial Generals, the Prince of Bournonville; who only waited the arrival of fresh troops to open a passage for himself into Alsace. He prevented the junction of these forces, attacked and made him Oct. 1674. quit the field of battle.

The Empire collected all its forces against him. Seventy thousand German troops were in Alsace; and Brisac and Philipsburg were blockaded. Turenne was not then at the head of more than about twenty thousand effective men, and the Prince of Condé had sent him a small supply of cavalry from Flanders. With these forces he traversed the mountains covered with Dec. 1674. snow, by Tanne and Befort, and unexpectedly enters Upper Alsace, in the midst of the enemy's quarters, who thought him reposing himself in Lorraine; and concluded the year's campaign to be at an end. He defeated the corps at Mulhausen that resisted, and took two thousand of them prisoners. He marched to Colmar, where the Elector of Brandenburg, who was stiled the *Great Elector*, then General of the armies of the Empire, was stationed. He happened to arrive just as these Princes and the other Generals were sitting down to dinner. They had but just time to make their escape, and the whole country was covered with fugitives.

Turenne thinking he had done nothing while there remained any thing to be done *, January 5, lay in ambush near Turckheim, for a party 1675. of the enemy's foot passing that way. The advantage of the post he had taken, rendered his success certain. He consequently defeated this body of Infantry. In short,

* This character is borrowed from Sallust, without acknowledging it. 'Twas said of Cæsar, *Nil actum credens, cum quid superesset agendum.* Translator.

this army of seventy thousand men was broken and dispersed, even without any pitched battle. Alsace fell into the possession of the King, and the Generals of the Empire were obliged to repass the Rhine.

All these exploits, following one another without interruption, conducted with so much skill, planned with so much deliberation, and executed with so much promptness, were objects of equal admiration, both to France and her enemies. The glory of Turenne received a considerable increase, when it was known that every thing he had done throughout this campaign was against the opinion of the Court, and contrary to the repeated orders of Louvois, sent him in the name of the King. To oppose the all-powerful Louvois, and take upon himself the consequences of the event, without regarding the remonstrances of the Court, the commands of his master, and the resentment of the Minister, was by no means the least mark of the resolution of Turenne, nor the least signal circumstance of the campaign.

It must be acknowledged, that those who were impressed with more humanity than admiration for military exploits, lamented this glorious campaign, which was as memorable for the miseries of the people, as for the enterprizes of Turenne. After the battle of Sintzheim he laid waste the Palatinate with fire and sword, a champaign and a fertile country, full of cities and opulent villages. The Elector Palatine, from the battlements of his castle of Manheim, beheld two cities and twenty-five villages in flames. This unhappy Prince challenged Turenne to single combat, in a letter filled with reproaches*.

* During the course of this edition, Mr. Colini, private secretary and historiographer of the present reigning Elector Palatine, has called in question the story of this challenge, upon very specious arguments, delivered with good sense and sagacity. He shews very judiciously, that the Elector, Charles-Louis, could not have written the letters that Sandras de Courtils and Ramsay have imputed to this Prince. More historians than these have often attributed to their heroes both writings and speeches of their own invention.

Neither the original letter of the Elector Charles-Louis nor the answer of Marshal Turenne have ever been seen. It has only been taken

Turenne having sent this letter to the King, who forbade him to accept the challenge, only answered the upbraiding and defiance by an empty compliment that was nothing satisfactory. This was the stile and manner of Turenne, who always expressed himself with moderation and ambiguity.

With the same *sang-froid* he destroyed the ovens and set fire to all the corn-fields in Alsace, that were within his reach, to prevent the subsistence of the enemy. He afterwards permitted his cavalry to ravage Lorraine; where they committed such scenes of devastation, that the Intendant, who on his side ravaged it as much with his pen*, wrote and spoke often to him to stop these excesses; to which he coldly replied, "I shall do it in the "Orders."

Turenne chose rather to be called the father of the troops under his command, than of the people at large,

taken upon trust, that the Elector, justly incensed at the ravages and conflagrations which Turenne had committed in his country, did send him a defiance by a trumpeter, named *Petit-Jean*. I know that the House of Bouillon gave credit to the fact. The Grand Prior of Vendôme and the Marshal de Villars never doubted it; and the Memoirs of Beauveau, a co-temporary, affirms the anecdote.

However, possibly, the challenge might not have been proposed, in express terms, in the *bitter* letter which the Elector himself said he had written to the Prince Marshal Turenne, upon that occasion. Would to God that it was also a matter of doubt, whether the Palatinate had suffered two conflagrations or no! But this is a certainty, is a thing of infinitely more consequence, and what will ever remain a reproach to the memory of Louis XIV.

Mr. Colini reprehends the President Henault for having said, in his Chronological Abridgment, that the Prince de Turenne replied to the challenge "with a moderation that rendered the Elector "ashamed of his bravado." The shame lay rather with the incendiary, as there was no open war then with the Palatinate; and it could not be deemed a bravado, in a Prince so justly irritated, to defy to single combat the perpetrator of such cruel excesses. The Elector was a warm man, and the spirit of chivalry not then extinct. In the Letters of Pelisson 'tis said, that Louis XIV. himself consulted whether he might, in conscience, fight personally with the Emperor Leopold."

The above note is Mr. Voltaire's. This scruple of conscience, we are to suppose, by that expression, must have been proposed to his Confessor. *Translator*.

* By the imposition of exorbitant taxes. *Ibid.*

which, according to the laws * of war, are always sacrificed. All the mischief he did, might have appeared to him necessary; his glory covered every thing. Besides, the seventy thousand Germans whom he intercepted in their march towards France, would have committed more devastation there, than he did in Alsace, Lorraine, and the Palatinate.

Such had been, since the commencement of the sixteenth century, the situation of France, that in every war in which she was engaged, she had Germany, Flanders, Spain, and Italy, to contend with at the same time. The Prince of Condé made head in Flanders against the young Prince of Orange, while Turenne drove the Germans out of Alsace. The campaign of Marshal Turenne was successful, and that of the Prince of Condé bloody. The small actions of Sintzheim and Turckheim were decisive; the great and famous battle of Senef was only slaughter. The Great Condé, who fought it during the stolen marches of Turenne in Alsace, drew no manner of advantage from it; whether it was that the circumstances of the place were less favourable, or that he had taken less prudent measures; or rather, that he had abler Generals and better troops to contend with. The Marquis de Feuquieres says, that the battle of Senef can be only called *a fight*, because the action was not between two armies properly arranged against each other, and that all the troops on either side were not engaged in it. But it seems generally agreed to stile this hot and bloody day *a battle*. An action between three thousand men, though arranged according to the utmost exactness of military parade, and where every part was engaged, might be called only *a fight*. 'Tis always the importance of a thing that determines its appellation.

The Prince of Condé was to keep the field with about forty-five thousand men, against the Prince of Orange, at the head, as computed, of sixty thousand. He waited for the enemy's army that was to pass a defile at Se-

† Voltaire should have said *practice*, instead of *laws*.—*Parcere sub-*
jectis, is the law. *Translator.*

nes, near Mons. He there attacked part of the rear-guard composed of Spanish troops, and obtained a signal advantage over them. The ^{August 11,} Prince of Orange was censured for not hav- _{1674.}ing used more precaution in passing this defile; but the manner in which he retrieved the disadvantage, was much commended; and Condé was blamed for having renewed the attack against enemies so strongly entrenched. The combat was renewed three times, and the two Generals, in this medley of oversights and great actions, equally signalized their courage and presence of mind.

In all the battles which the Great Conde ever fought, this was the action in which he hazarded his own life and that of his soldiers the most. He had three horses killed under him that day; and after three bloody attacks, would yet attempt a fourth. "It seemed," said an Officer who was present, "as if the Prince of Condé was the only person who was possessed with a rage for fighting." The most singular circumstance recorded of this action, was, that the troops on both sides, after the most obstinate and bloody conflict, betook themselves to flight in the night, through the impression of a panic.

The next morning both armies retired, each to its own camp, neither of them keeping the field of battle, or claiming the victory; both of them being rather equally weakened and defeated. Of the French, there were about seven thousand killed, and five thousand made prisoners; and the loss on the part of the enemy was nearly the same. So much blood spilled in vain, prevented either army from attempting any thing considerable. To acquire reputation to his arms was a point of so much consequence to the Prince of Orange, that to have it thought he had obtained the victory, he laid siege to Oudenard immediately after; but the Prince of Condé proved also that he had not been defeated, by raising the siege, and pursuing him in his retreat.

The idle ceremony of singing *Te Deum* for a victory not gained, was then equally the practice both of France and of the Allies. This usage has obtained with the

view of encouraging the people, who must be always imposed on.

Turenne in Germany, with his small army, continued to make a progress which resulted merely from the force of his own genius. The Council of Vienna, not venturing any longer to confide the fate of the Empire to Princes who had defended it hitherto so badly, placed at the head of its armies General Montecuculi, who had vanquished the Turks at the battle of St. Gothard, and who, notwithstanding the endeavours of Turenne and Condé, had joined the Prince of Orange, and given a check to the fortune of Louis XIV. after he had conquered three of the Provinces of Holland.

It has been remarked, that the greatest Generals of the Empire have been generally natives of Italy. This Country, notwithstanding its decadence and its slavery, still produces men who revive the remembrance of what it was formerly. Montecuculi was the only man worthy to be opposed against Turenne. They had both reduced the practice of war to an art. They spent four months in following and observing each other's marches and encampments, more applauded than their victories by the French and German Officers. Each judged what the other intended, from the measures he himself would have pursued in the same situation; and their conclusions were always just. They opposed to each other patience, cunning, and activity; and were at length come to the very point of joining issue, and of staking their reputations on the event of a battle, near the village of Saltzbach, when

July 27.

1675.

Turenne, in going to a station to fix a battery, was killed by a cannon-ball.

The following anecdote cannot be too often repeated. The same ball that struck him, carried off the arm of St. Hilaire, Lieutenant-General of artillery; and his son falling into tears by him, "It is not me," said he, "it is that great man you are to lament;" an expression equal to any thing recorded in history of heroic sentiment, and an elogy worthy of Turenne.

It

It happens very seldom in a monarchical government, where men are chiefly occupied about their own private interests, that those who have served their Country are regretted by the public. But Turenne was mourned both by the soldiery and the people. Louvois was the only person who lamented him not, nay rather rejoiced at his death. The honours paid to his memory by the King are known to every one, and that he was interred at St. Denis, as the Constable du Guesclin had been; above whom the public voice has elevated him as much as the Age of Turenne was superior to that of the Constable.

Turenne had not always proved a successful General. He had been defeated at Mariendal, at Rethel, and at Cambray. He owned himself, that he had committed some faults, and he was great enough to confess them. He had never gained signal victories, nor fought any of those pitched battles which determine the fate of nations; but having always retrieved his defeats, and done much with small resources, he was looked upon as the most able Commander in Europe, at a time that the art of war was better known than ever it had been before. In like manner, though he was blameable for his defection in the wars of the Fronde; though, at near the age of three-score, love had induced him to reveal a State-secret; and though he had exercised in the Palatinate cruelties which seemed unnecessary; he, notwithstanding, preserved the reputation of an honest, prudent, and moderate man, because his virtues and great talents, which were peculiarly his own, caused his faults and foibles, which he had in common with the rest of mankind, to be forgotten. If one was to draw a parallel for him, it might be said, that of all the Generals of past ages, Gonfalvo de Cordova, surnamed the Great Captain, was the hero whom he most resembled.

Though bred a Calvinist, he turned Catholic in the year 1668. Neither Protestant nor Philosopher can imagine that conviction alone had wrought this change of sentiment in a soldier and in a politician fifty years

years old*, and who still retained his amours. It is known that Louis XIV. on creating him Marshal-General of his armies, made use of this expression, as related in the Letters of Pellisson and other authors: "I wish you would put it in my power to do something more for you!" Such a hint, according to them, might in time have brought about his conversion. The office of Constable was a bait to an ambitious mind. It was possible also, that this conversion might have been sincere. The human heart often comprehends politics, ambition, the weaknesses of love, and sentiments of religion, at the same time. In short, it is probable that Turenne did not forsake the faith of his ancestors, except from mere temporal motives. However, the Catholics, who triumphed in such a proselyte, would not admit that the great soul of Turenne was capable of dissimulation.

What happened in Alsace immediately after the death of Turenne, rendered his loss the more sensible. Montecuculi, kept for above three months on the other side of the Rhine by the manœuvres of the French General, passed that river the moment he found he had not Turenne to cope with. He fell upon a part of the army, which remained in confusion under the command of Lorges and Vaubrun, two Lieutenant-Generals at variance with each other, and undetermined in their measures. This body of troops, which however defended itself with great bravery, was not able to prevent the Imperialists from penetrating into Alsace, from which Turenne had kept them at a distance.

This army not only wanted a leader to conduct it, but to retrieve the late defeat of Marshal Crequi, a man of an enterprising character, capable at once of the bravest and most precipitate actions, and equally dangerous to his country and its enemies. He was just then defeated, through his own ill conduct, at Conzarbrück. A body

* He was then fifty-seven; an age too old to change opinions, and too young to die. *Translator.*

of twenty thousand Germans, who were besieging Treves*, cut his little army in pieces, August 11,
1675. and put it to flight. He hardly escaped himself, with a fourth part of his troops. He encountered new perils to throw himself into the town, which he might have succoured with prudent conduct, but which he defended with courage. He was resolved to bury himself under the ruins of the place; and even after the breach had been rendered practicable, he was still obstinately bent upon defending it. But the garrison mutinied, and Captain Bois-Jourdan, at the head of the mutineers, entered into a capitulation at the breach. Never was an act of cowardice performed with so much effrontery. He even threatened the Marshal with instant death, if he refused to sign the terms of the surrender. But Crequi took refuge in a church, with a few Officers who continued attached to him, choosing rather to be made a prisoner at discretion, than consent to a capitulation*.

To recruit the men which France had lost in so many battles and sieges, Louis XIV. was advised not to confine himself to the levies from the militia, in the ordinary course, but to call out the ban and arriere-ban to the service. By an ancient custom, now disused, all possessors of fiefs were obliged to attend their Lords paramount to the wars, at their own expence, and to remain in arms there a certain number of days. This military service composed the greatest part of the laws of our barbarous nations. But this custom is quite changed, at present, in Europe; for there is no State now that does not levy its own troops, which it keeps always in pay, and which form disciplined corps.

Louis XIII. once summoned the Noblesse of his Kingdom. Louis XIV. now followed his example. The body of the Nobility marched under the command of the Marquis, since Marshal, de Rochefort, to the frontiers of Flanders, and afterwards to those of Germany. But this corps was neither considerable nor useful; nor could

† Treves, or Triers.

it be made so. Those gentlemen who were possessed with a military ardour, and capable of serving, were Officers already in the troops; and those who, through age or discontent, had been used to live at home, remained there. The remainder, who were employed in the cultivation of their own lands, went with repugnance, making only about four thousand in all.

Nothing less resembled a military body than this corps. Mounted and armed differently, without experience or discipline, they neither could, nor would submit to regular service, caused nothing but confusion, and raised such disgust as prevented their ever being called out again. This was the last trace in our regular troops that was seen of the ancient Chivalry, which formerly composed our armies; and which, notwithstanding the natural courage of the nation, never made good soldiers.

Turenne dead, Crequi defeated and made prisoner, Treves taken, and Montecuculi laying Alsace under contribution, the King thought that the Prince of Condé was the only person capable of reviving the confidence of the troops, which the death of Turenne had abated. Condé left Marshal Luxembourg to sustain the fortune of France in Flanders, and flew to oppose the progress of Montecuculi. The coolness he manifested on this occasion was equalled only by the impetuosity he had displayed at Senef. His genius, which could conform itself to every thing, displayed the same art that Turenne had done. Two encampments alone checked the progress of the German army, and compelled Montecuculi to raise the sieges of Haguenau and of Saverne.

After this campaign, less brilliant than that of Senef, but more approved, the Prince of Condé quitted the theatre of war. He solicited to have his son appointed Commander in his room, and offered to assist him with his instructions: but the King did not choose either young men or Princes for his Generals; and it had been with reluctance that he had suffered the Prince of Condé to be employed. The jealousy of Louvois against
Turenne

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Turenne had contributed as much as the name of Condé, to place him at the head of the army.

The Prince retired to Chantilly, from whence he seldom went to Versailles, where his glory suffered an eclipse among Courtiers, who respect nothing but favour. He passed the rest of his life tormented with the gout, and consoling himself in his agonies and retreat with the conversation of the men of genius of all kinds which France had at that time to boast. He was worthy of such society, being himself conversant with all those arts and sciences in which they were distinguished.

He was still admired, even in his retreat; till at length that quick spirit which had rendered him in his youth an impetuous hero, and given him such strong passions, having consumed the forces of a body created rather active than robust, he suffered a total decay of his faculties before his time; for his understanding keeping pace with the weakness of his body, there remained no trace of the Great Condé during the last two years of his life*. He died in 1686.

Montecuculi retired from the service of the Emperor, at the same time that the Prince of Condé resigned the command of the armies of France.

A common, but a silly story has prevailed, that Montecuculi laid down his truncheon, on the death of Turenne, "because," he said, "he had now no rival worthy of him." This would have been an absurd speech, even if a Condé had been still existing. But, so far from uttering such an absurdity as they meant to compliment him with, he fought against the French, and made them repass the Rhine, that very year. Besides, what General would have said to his master, "I don't chuse to serve you any longer, because your enemies are too despicable, and my merit is too superior?"

* A parallel might be drawn between him and the Duke of Marlborough, in this, as well as in other particulars. *Translator.*

C H A P. XIII.

*From the Death of Turenne, to the Peace of Nimeguen
in 1678.*

AFTER the death of Turenne, and the retirement of the Prince of Condé, the King did not carry on the war with less advantage against the Empire, Spain, and Holland. He had many Officers formed by these two great men; and he had Louvois, who was more useful to him than a General, because his address in making all necessary provisions, enabled his Generals to undertake whatever enterprize they thought proper. The troops also, long victorious, were re-animated with the same spirit, on the presence of a King who was always successful.

He took in person, in the course of the war, Condé*, Bouchain †, Valenciennes ‡, and Cambray §. He was censured, at the siege of Bouchain, for having declined engaging the Prince of Orange, who presented himself before him at the head of fifty thousand men, in order to throw succours into the place. On the other hand, the Prince of Orange was censured for having it in his power to have given battle to Louis XIV. and not doing it. Such is the lot both of Kings and Generals, that they are subject to be equally blamed for what they do, or what they do not do. But neither he nor the Prince of Orange deserved censure. The Prince did not give battle, though inclined to it, because Monterey, who was Governor of the Netherlands, and was in his army, refused to hazard his government on the event of a single action; and the glory of the campaign was sufficiently secured to the King, in carrying his point, and taking the town before the face of his enemy.

As to Valenciennes, it was carried by assault, by one of those singular events which characterize the impetuous courage of the nation.

The

The King conducted the siege, in concert with his brother and five Marshals of France, d'Humieres, Schomberg, La Feuillade, Luxembourg, and de Lorges. The Marshals commanded each their day, one after another. Vauban directed all the operations.

They had not yet taken any of the outworks of the place. They were first to attack two half-moons. Behind these was a great crown-work, pallisadoed, and lined with fraises *, surrounded with a fossé †, crowned with divers traverses, or retrenchments. Within this was another work encompassed by another fossé. After becoming master of all these entrenchments, it was necessary to pass a branch of the Scheld. This difficulty surmounted, another work stood in the way, called a *paillé* ‡, behind which ran the main course of the Scheld, deep and rapid, which served as a fossé to the walls, further defended by strong ramparts. All these works were covered with cannon; and a garrison of three thousand men was likely to hold out a long time.

The King held a council of war for attacking the outworks. It was the usual way to make these attacks by night, in order to steal upon the enemy without being perceived, and thereby save the lives of the men. Vauban gave his opinion for making the attack by day. All the Marshals of France exclaimed against the proposition, and Louvois condemned it also.

Vauban continued firm in his opinion, with the confidence of a person self-convinced of his argument. “ You would, said he, be sparing of the lives of your
“ men; you will save them much more by a day-light
“ attack, which will be free from confusion or tumult,
“ and without the danger of one party falling foul of
“ another, as is often the case in nocturnal enterprises.
“ You would surprise the enemy, who are always more
“ particularly on their guard by night; but we shall
“ more effectually surprise them, when, after the fatigues
“ of the night-warch, they are obliged to sustain the
“ assault of our fresh troops. To this may be added,

* Pointed stakes. † A moat. ‡ A round tower.

“ that if there should be found any faint hearts among
 “ our forces, the darkness would favour their timidity ;
 “ but in the open day the eye of the Commander is apt to
 “ inspire valour, and elevate men above themselves.”

The King yielded to the arguments of Vauban, in opposition to Louvois and the five Marshals of France.

At nine o'clock in the morning, the two companies of mousquetaires, with a hundred grenadiers, a battalion of the guards, and another of the regiment of Picardy, scaled the great crown-work on all sides. The order was only to make good a lodgment there; and this was as much as could be expected. But some of the black mousquetaires having penetrated by a private passage they discovered, up to the inner intrenchment of this fortification, soon made themselves masters of it. At the same time the grey mousquetaires forced their way through another pass. The battalions of guards followed them; they slew and pursued the besieged: the mousquetaires had let down the draw-bridge that joined this work to the rest; they followed the enemy from intrenchment to intrenchment, both on the arm and the main body of the Scheld; the guards pressed forward in compact bodies; and the mousquetaires had made their way into the town, before the King knew that they had been able to carry the first work attacked.

This, however, was not the most extraordinary circumstance in this action. It was naturally to be supposed that a number of young mousquetaires, intoxicated with success, might have fallen tumultuously on the troops and the citizens that would have assembled to oppose them in the streets; and that either they would be all killed in the scuffle, or get the better and fall a pillaging the town. Instead of this, these young soldiers, under the command of a Cornet, named Moissac, at once drew up in rank and file behind some waggons; and while the troops that followed formed themselves without the least confusion, other mousquetaires got possession of the houses on each side, to protect by their fire their friends in the street. Hostages were quickly exchanged

Exchanged on each part, the Council of the city was summoned, which dispatched a deputation to the King; and all these matters were transacted without pillage, confusion, or the least excess of any kind. The King made the garrison prisoners of war, and entered Valenciennes, astonished at becoming master of it so easily.

He had, besides, the glory of taking Ghent in eight days time*, and Ypres in seven †. * March 9, 1678. These were all his own exploits; but † March 25, 1678. he had still greater success by his Generals.

In Germany, 'tis true, the Marshal Duke of Luxemburg, at the commencement of the war, Sept. 1676. suffered Philipsburg to be taken before his face, attempting in vain to succour it at the head of fifty thousand men. The General who took Philipsburg, was Charles V. the new Duke of Lorraine, heir to his uncle Charles IV. and, like him, despoiled of his dominions.

He possessed all the qualities of his unfortunate uncle, without any of his faults. He commanded the forces of the Empire a considerable time with great credit. But though he had taken Philipsburg, and was at the head of sixty thousand regular troops, he could never get footing in his own dominions. In vain did he bear this motto on his standard, *Aut nunc, aut nunquam*, "Now, or never." Marshal Crequi, ransomed from his imprisonment, and become more prudent from his defeat at Consrbruck, ever kept the entrance into Lorraine barred against him. He defeated him in the small action of Kokersberg, in Alsace; and harassed and fatigued him without intermission. Oct. 7, 1667.

He took Friburg while he was looking on, and beat a detachment from his army, at Rhinfield. He passed the river Kins in his presence, pursued him towards Offenburg, attacked him in his retreat, and having immediately after carried the fort of Keil sword in hand, he proceeded to Strasburg, where he destroyed the bridge, over which that city, which remained still free, had so often granted a passage to the

Imperial armies: so that the Marshal de Crequi thus repaired one rash action by a series of successes intirely owing to a more prudent conduct; and might, perhaps, have acquired a reputation equal to that of Turenne, had he lived a little longer,

The Prince of Orange was not more successful in Flanders, than the Duke of Lorraine in Germany; he was not only obliged to raise the sieges of Maëstricht and Charleroi, but after having suffered Condé, Bouchain, and Valenciennes, to fall into the hands of Louis XIV. he lost the battle of Montcassel to Monsieur, in attempting to relieve St. Omer. The Marshals Luxembourg and d'Humieres commanded the army under him.

It was said that an oversight of the Prince of Orange, and an expert movement made by Luxembourg, decided the fortune of the day. Monsieur charged with a bravery and presence of mind not at all expected from so effeminate a Prince. There never was a stronger instance to prove that valour is not always inconsistent with such a character. This Prince, who used frequently to dress himself in female attire, and had all the manners of a woman about him, behaved on this occasion as became a General and a soldier. The King his brother, 'tis said, was jealous of his glory. He spoke but little to him on the subject of the victory, nor did he even go to view the field of battle, though he was near the spot. Some friends of the Duke of Orleans, who

March 11,
1677.

were more quick-sighted than the rest, predicted to him at the time, that he would never have the command of an army again; and they were not mistaken.

So many towns taken, with so many battles won, in Flanders and Germany, were not the only successes of Louis XIV. in this war. Count Schomberg and Marshal Noailles defeated the Spaniards in the Lampourdan, at the foot of the Pyrenées; and attacked them even in Sicily.

Sicily, ever since the time of the Tyrants of Syracuse, during which æra it had been of some considera-
tion

tion among the States of Europe, was always under the dominion of strangers; being subject successively to the Romans, the Vandals, the Arabians, the Normans, under the vassalage of the Popes, the French, the Germans, and the Spaniards; still hating its masters, and revolting from them, without making any effectual efforts worthy of liberty, and continually exciting seditions for no other purpose than merely to change their fetters.

The Magistrates of Messina had just then commenced a civil war against their governors, and invited the French to their assistance. A Spanish fleet had blocked up their port, and reduced them to the extremities of famine.

The Chevalier Valbelle was immediately sent to their relief, quite through the Spanish fleet; and carried a supply of provisions, arms, and men into the town. Afterwards the Duke of Vivonne arrived with seven men of war of sixty guns each, two more of eighty, and several fire-ships. He defeated the enemy's fleet, and entered Messina in triumph.

Spain was now obliged to solicit an alliance with the Dutch, its ancient enemy, to assist in the defence of Sicily, as they were generally considered to be masters of the sea. Ruyter sailed to its succour from the farthest part of the Zuyderzée, passed the Streight, and joined to twenty Spanish ships twenty-three large men of war.

Feb. 9,
1675.

And now the French, who, though joined with the English, were not able to beat the fleet of Holland alone, gained singly a victory over the Dutch and Spanish fleets combined together. The Duke of Vivonne, being obliged to remain at Messina in order to keep the people quiet, already discontented with their defenders, left the conduct of this action to Du-Quêne, Vice-Admiral of the fleet; a man equally singular with Ruyter; who had, like him, arrived to his rank in the navy by his personal merit alone, but never before had the sole command in a sea-engagement, having hitherto only distinguished himself as the Captain of a privateer, and never as an Admiral.

Jan. 8,
1676.

But those who are born with a genius for any art of science, particularly for command, arrive quickly, and with ease, from the commencement to the perfection of their pursuits *. Du-Quêne shewed himself an able sea-officer against Ruyter, in being able to obtain even the inconsiderable advantage over him he did, in the first

March 12, 1676. action. But he engaged the two adverse fleets a second time, off Aousta †, in which battle

Ruyter received a mortal wound, which put a period to his glorious career.

He was one of those men whose memory remains still in veneration among the Hollanders. He commenced his sea-faring life as a cabin-boy, or captain's servant ‡, which circumstance only renders him the more respectable. His name is not held inferior to the Princes of Nassau. The Council of Spain gave him the title and the patent of a Duke; an odd and an absurd dignity to be conferred on a Republican. But this grant did not arrive 'till after his death; and his children, worthy of such a father, spurned at a distinction so solicited in monarchies, but to which the character of a good citizen is infinitely superior.

Louis XIV. had greatness of soul enough to be affected at his death; and when he was congratulated on having got rid of a formidable enemy, he replied, "I cannot help feeling for the loss of a great man."

Du-Quêne, the De Ruyter of France, attacked the combined fleets a third time, after the death of the Dutch Admiral, and gave them a total overthrow, burning and making prizes of many of their ships. The Marshal Duke, of Vivonne had the principal command in this action; but Du-Quêne had, nevertheless, the honour of the victory.

* Lucullus, Condé, &c. were instances of the latter character. *Transf.*

† Aousta, Avosta, or Augusta, a Duchy in Piedmont, belonging to Sardinia. *Ibid.*

‡ Sir Cloudesly Shovel, one of our distinguished Admirals, was the same. *Ibid.*

Europe was astonished to see France become in so short a time as formidable at sea as at land; but these armaments and victories served only to spread an alarm throughout all the European States. The King of England, who had commenced the war for the service of France, was now ready to take part with the Prince of Orange, who had lately married his niece. Besides, the glory acquired in Sicily was purchased at too expensive a rate. In short, the French evacuated Messina, at a time that it was thought they were becoming masters of the whole Island. Louis XIV. was much blamed for having, during this war, undertaken enterprizes which he did not support; and for abandoning Messina, as well as Holland, after such fruitless conquests of them both.

April 8,
1678.

However, 'tis to be still formidable, to have sustained no other misfortune than merely not being able to keep all that one has gained. He harassed his enemies from one end of Europe to the other. The war in Sicily had cost him less than it did Spain, weakened and defeated every-where. He also raised up new enemies to the House of Austria; fomented the troubles of Hungary; and his Ambassadors at the Ottoman Court pressed it to carry the war into Germany, though he ought, for the sake of decency, to have sent troops to oppose those very Turks, whom his intrigues had brought into the Empire.

He was singly an over-match for all his adversaries; for at that time Sweden, his only ally, waged but an unsuccessful war against the Elector of Brandenburg. This Prince, father to the first King of Prussia, had begun to give his country an importance among the States, that has been greatly augmented since. He had lately taken Pomerania from the Swedes.

It is remarkable, that during the whole course of this war, there were continual conferences in agitation for peace; first at Cologne, through the ineffectual mediation of Sweden; and afterwards at Nimeguen, by the useless interference of England; whose interposition was then become a piece of ceremony as futile as the arbitration of the Pope was at Aix-la-Chapelle. Louis

XIV. was, in effect, the sole arbitrator. He delivered in his propositions on the 9th of April, 1678, in the midst of his victories, and gave his enemies only to the tenth of May to accept them. He afterwards indulged the States-General with a further interval of six weeks, upon their most submissive application.

His ambition was no longer turned towards Holland. That Republic had been either so lucky, or politic, as to appear only as an auxiliary in a war undertaken for its destruction. The Empire and Spain, at first merely auxiliaries, were now become the principal parties.

The King, in the conditions he imposed, favoured the commerce of the Dutch. He surrendered Maestricht to them, and restored some towns to Spain, to serve as barriers to the United Provinces; viz. Charleroy, Courtray, Oudenarde, Ath, Ghent, and Limburg; but he reserved to himself Bouchain, Condé, Ypres, Valenciennes, Cambrai, Maubeuge, Aire, St. Omer, Cassel, Charlemont, Popering, Bailleul, &c. which comprehended a considerable part of Flanders. To these he added Franche-Comté, which he had twice conquered; and these two Provinces were an acquisition worthy of the war.

He stipulated only for Friburg, or Philipsburg, in the Empire, and left the choice to the Emperor himself. He reinstated the two brothers Furstemberg in the Bishoprick of Straßburgh, and in their estates, of which the Emperor had despoiled them, and who held one of them at that time in prison.

He was the inflexible protector of Sweden his ally, and now unfortunately at variance with Denmark and Brandenburg. He obliged Denmark to restore every thing she had taken from Sweden, to lower the impost of passage to the Baltic Sea*, and to re-establish the Duke of Holstein in his estates; compelled the Elector of Brandenburg to deliver up Pomerania, which he had conquered; and confirmed the treaty of Westphalia in eve-

* Through the Sound, a strait between Sweden and Denmark, belonging to the latter, which takes toll of all ships passing from the Ocean to the Baltic. *Translator.*

ry article. His will was a law throughout Europe. In vain did the Elector of Brandenburg write him a most submissive letter, in which he styles him *My Lord*, according to usage*, conjuring him to leave him in possession of what he had acquired, and assuring him of his attachment and his services. His submission proved as ineffectual as his resistance, and the vanquisher of the Swedes was compelled to restore them all his conquests.

At this time the Ambassadors of France claimed precedence before the Electors. The Elector of Brandenburg proposed various sorts of modes to qualify this punctilio, before he would treat at Cleves with the Count, since Marshal, D'Estrades, Ambassador to the States-General. But the King would not suffer a person who represented him to give place to an Elector; so that the Count D'Estrades could not negotiate.

Charles V. had established an equality between the Grandees of Spain and the Electors; the Peers of France claimed therefore the same rank. At present we see how this point is adjusted, as the Ambassadors of the Electors are put on the same footing with those of Kings, in the Diets of the Empire.

With regard to Lorrain, he offered to re-establish the new Duke Charles V. ; but reserved his dominion over Nanci, and all the high-ways.

These conditions were imposed with all the haughtiness of a Conqueror; but yet were not so very unreasonable as to exasperate his enemies so far as to unite them together in one desperate effort against him. He dictated to Europe as a victor, but treated with them at the same time as a politician.

He contrived, at the conferences of Nimeguen, to sow jealousy among the Allies. The Hollanders were impatient to sign, against the opinion of the Prince of Orange, who was at all events for continuing the war: their argument was, that Spain was too weak to second them, should they continue it.

* I cannot see how the expression of *My Lord* could be deemed any part of the condescension, when Voltaire acknowledges it to be *selon l'usage*. A person who concludes a letter with "I am your most obedient servant," does not demean himself as a vassal. *Translator.*

The Spaniards finding that the Dutch had accepted of peace, complied also, pleading that the Empire had not sufficiently exerted itself in the common cause.

In short, the Germans, abandoned by Holland and Spain, acceded at last to the terms, leaving the King in possession of Friburg, and confirming the treaty of Westphalia.

Nothing was altered in the conditions prescribed by Louis XIV. His enemies indeed, at first, made some extravagant requisitions, in order to disguise their weakness; but Europe received its laws and peace from him. The Duke of Lorraine was the only party who refused to accede to a treaty which appeared to be so injurious to him. He chose rather to remain a wandering Prince in the Empire, than a mock Sovereign in his own dominions, without power or consequence, and waited till time and his own valour should effect some favourable revolution.

While the conferences of Nimeguen were carrying on, and four days after the plenipotentiaries of France and Holland had signed the peace, the Prince of Orange made Louis XIV. sensible what a dangerous enemy he had in him. Marshal Luxembourg, who had blockaded Mons, having received an account of the peace, became inattentive to any further operations of the siege, and was at dinner in the village of St. Denys, with the Intendant of the army, when the Prince of Orange with all his troops falls upon the Marshal's quarters, which he forced, after a long, obstinate, and bloody action.

From this exploit he expected, and with reason, to have obtained a signal victory; for he not only attacked, which is always an advantage, but he attacked troops who were not prepared, relying on the faith of treaties. Marshal Luxembourg with difficulty sustained this unexpected charge; but whatever advantage there was in the event of this action, appeared to be on the side of the Prince of Orange, as his infantry remained masters of the field of battle.

If heroes in the least regarded the lives of common men, the Prince of Orange would not have hazarded

this battle. He had certain intelligence that the treaty of peace was signed; he knew also that this peace was advantageous to his country; and yet he hazarded his own life, and sacrificed thousands of men, as the first-fruits of a general peace, which he could not have prevented, even had he cut the French army to pieces. This action, equally inhuman as vain-glorious, which, however, was at that time more admired than censured, produced not any new article in the treaty, and cost, without any manner of advantage, the lives of two thousand French, and as many Dutch soldiers*.

On reflecting upon this peace, it may be observed how purposes may be thwarted by events. Holland, against whom alone the war had been undertaken, and who was likely to be inevitably destroyed, lost nothing by it; but, on the contrary, gained a barrier: while all her Allies, who had saved her from destruction, sustained all the loss.

The King was now arrived at the very pinnacle of his greatness; victorious ever since he had begun his reign, having never laid siege to a town without carrying it; superior in every circumstance to all his enemies united; the dread of Europe for six successive years, and finally, its arbiter and peace-maker; adding to his dominions Franche-Comté, Dunkirk, and half of Flanders; and, what he ought to have considered as the greatest of all advantages, sovereign over a people now rendered happy, and become the model to all other nations.

The Hôtel-de-Ville, or Town-house of Paris, some time after, in the year 1680, conferred upon him by a public act the epithet of Grand or Great, and ordered that this title alone should for the future be placed upon all the public monuments. Some medals had been before struck in honour of him, containing this addition, from the year 1673; and Europe, however jealous of him, did not exclaim against this distinction.

* This was a most unwarrantable and disingenuous act, as it could not be justified but by adding the meanness of a falsehood to it, in pleading an ignorance of a fact he was apprised of. There was more spite than spirit in it. *Translator.*

However, the appellation of Louis XIV. has prevailed in the world over that of the Great. Custom rules every thing. Henry, who was with so much justice surnamed the Great, after his death, is now commonly called only Henry IV. ; but the name alone expresses enough. Monsieur le Prince is always called the Great Condé, not only on account of his heroic actions, but for the sake of distinguishing him by such addition from the other Princes of that house. If he had been stiled Condé the Great, that title had not survived so long*.

They say the Great Corneille, to distinguish him from his brother; but we never say the Great Virgil, nor the Great Homer, nor the Great Tasso. Alexander the Great is no longer mentioned but under the simple appellation of Alexander. Charles V. whose fortunes were more illustrious than those of Louis XIV. never obtained the surname of Great. It has not remained to Charlemagne but as a proper name †. Titles are never regarded by posterity. The simple name of a man who has performed noble actions, impresses on us more respect than all the epithets that can be invented.

* Here appears to be what the School-men call a *distinction without a difference*, between the Great Condé, and Condé the Great. But the argument is still more curious; the logic of which is, that a Cognomen, which only notes a man from the rest of his family, is immortal; but that which denotes his pre-eminence to all of his name, which is infinitely the greater number, soon perishes. *Translator.*

† This is a strange medley of comparisons, without any propriety of distinction; and one of the remarks is, we apprehend, not founded upon reality: That, for example, which relates to Alexander; who is universally known by the name of *Alexander the Great*. The same epithet is constantly bestowed upon Pompey, the rival of Julius Cæsar. But whatever M. Voltaire may think of the importance of his own nation in general, and of those characters in particular which his nation has honoured with the appellation of *Great*, the consent of the French nation alone is not sufficient to establish this epithet. Alexander deserved the name of *Great*, in the opinion of all the enlightened nations then in being. Pompey was surnamed *Great*, by the undoubted Metropolis of the World. Both the one and the other had performed such exploits as intitled them to that glorious addition. They had subdued the most formidable powers of Asia, and filled all the world with astonishment at the brilliancy of their victories. Henry IV. of France had never extended his success beyond his own dominions. His grandson, Louis XIV. had over-run Franche-Comté and Flanders,

when

C H A P. XIV.

The taking of Strasburg; Bombardment of Algiers; Submission of the Genoese; Embassy from Siam; the Pope insulted in Rome; and the Electorate of Cologne disputed.

THE ambition of Louis XIV. was not in the least restrained by this general peace. The Empire, Spain, and Holland, disbanded their extraordinary troops, but he still kept all his on foot. He made conquests in the midst of peace; and was so assured at that time of his power, that he established in Metz and in Bri-^{1680.} sac *, Courts of Jurisdiction to re-unite to his

when they were both defenceless; but he was not able to complete the conquest of Holland, even though he was at the gates of Amsterdam, and the Dutch had not an army to oppose his career. In the sequel, though his Generals obtained some victories over the Prince of Orange, they never struck such a decisive stroke, but that he was always able to keep them at bay, and to give them battle in six weeks again after every defeat; nor could they, with all their efforts, ever make another conquest on the territories of the States-General.

In the war that succeeded the death of King William, Louis had the mortification to see his surname of Great melted down, as it were, in a series of defeats and disasters, until he was at length obliged to sue for peace to those very States which he had treated with insolence in his prosperity. How was it possible for a Prince to retain the epithet of Great, in the midst of subjects who found themselves reduced to misery by his ambition? who saw that ambition blasted, and that idolized Monarch sinking under distemper, and overwhelmed with disgrace? Besides, the personal character of Louis was evidently deficient in that enterprising courage and intrepidity, which are reckoned by all the world essential ingredients in the constitution of a hero.
Translator.

* In the compilation intitled *Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon*, may be found these words, in the third Volume, page 23. "The re-union of the Chambers of Metz and of Besançon;" from whence we concluded that there had been a Council of Besançon united to that of Metz. Upon this we consulted all the authors, but found that there never was a Council at Besançon, instituted for ascertaining what neighbouring lands might have belonged to France. There was in 1680, only the Council of Brisac, and that of Metz, commissioned to re-unite to France the estates that they should judge might have been dismembered from Alsace, and the Three Bishopricks. It was the Parliament of Besançon that annexed, for a time, Mont-beliard to France.

Volsuire

Crown

Crown all the lands that formerly might have been appendages of Alsace, or the Three Bishopricks, but which had been in the possession of other masters time immemorial.

Several Princes of the Empire, the Elector Palatine, the King of Spain himself, who had some bailiwicks in those countries, and the King of Sweden, as Duke of Deux-Ponts, were cited before these Councils, to do homage to the King of France, or suffer the confiscation of their possessions. Since Charlemagne, no Prince had been ever known to assume the power of master and judge of crowned heads, and to conquer countries by rescripts*.

The Elector Palatine and the Elector of Treves were deprived of the seigniories of Falkenburg, Germerheim, Veldentz, &c. They preferred their complaints in vain to the Diet of the Empire, then assembled at Ratisbon, which contented itself with entering a formal protest in their favour.

But it was not enough for the King to obtain the prefecture † of ten free cities of Alsace, under the same title that the Emperors had held it. Already no person presumed to talk of liberty in any of those free cities. Strasburg, indeed, yet remained a great and opulent city, and mistress of the Rhine, by the means of a bridge it had over that river, and formed in itself a powerful republic, famous for its arsenal, containing nine hundred pieces of artillery.

Louvois had meditated a long time to put his master in possession of this place. Money, stratagem, and fear, which had opened the gates of so many towns to him, prepared the way for his entrance into Strasburg. The Magistrates were bribed; and the people were in a consternation at seeing, unexpectedly, their ramparts surrounded by twenty thousand French. The forts which defended them on the side of the Rhine, were no sooner

* M. Voltaire should have excepted the Pope. But perhaps he would not rank his Holiness in the subordinate class of temporal Princes, considering him as Sovereign of the Hierarchy. *Translator.*

† Command, or Office of Government. *Ibid.*

attacked

attacked than taken. Louvois was at their gates, and the Burgomasters capitulated. The tears and despair of the citizens, fond of liberty, prevented not the treaty of surrender from being offered by their Magistrates, and the town from being taken possession of by Louvois, in the same day. Vauban, by the fortifications with which he has since surrounded it, has rendered this city the strongest barrier of France.

Sept. 30.
1681.

The King preserved no better measures with Spain. He demanded the town of Alost, with all its bailiwick, in the Netherlands, which his Ministers, he pretended, had forgotten to insert in the articles of the peace; and upon Spain's hesitation, he blockaded Luxemburg.

At the same time he purchased the strong town of Casal from a petty Prince, the Duke of Mantua, who would have sold all his estate to supply his pleasures.

On finding this Power extending itself on all sides, and acquiring, during a time of peace, more than ten preceding Kings of France had gained by all their wars, the alarm of Europe commenced anew. The Empire, Holland, and even Sweden, being much displeas'd with the King, entered into an association against him. England threatened; Spain determin'd on war; and the Prince of Orange exerted himself to bring about an open declaration of it. But none of these Powers dared immediately to commence hostilities*.

* It has been pretended, that it was on this occasion the Prince of Orange, afterwards King of England, had publicly said of Louis XIV. "I could not gain his friendship, but I will deserve his esteem." This expression has been repeated by several of the anecdote-writers, and the Abbé Choisi fixes it in the year 1672. It would merit some attention, as seeming to give a distant hint of the leagues that King William afterwards formed against Louis XIV.; but it is not true, that it was on the peace of Nimeguen that the Prince of Orange said so; and it is still less likely that Louis XIV. wrote to the Prince, "You ask my friendship, I shall grant it to you when you deserve it." This was a reply adapted only to a vassal. Such insulting expressions could never be made use of towards a Prince with whom he was concluding a treaty. This letter is no where to be met with except in the compilation of Maintenon's Memoirs; and this collection has been much decried on account of the numberless falsties contained in it. *Voltaire.*

The

The King, already dreaded every-where, thought of nothing but of rendering himself still more formidable. He advanced the power of his Navy beyond the hopes of the French themselves, and the conceptions of the rest of Europe. He kept sixty thousand sailors on his establishment; and these unruly crews were re-
 1680. strained by the same strict discipline which govern-
 1681. ed his land-forces. England and Holland, tho'
 1682. great maritime powers, had neither so many seamen, nor such good naval laws. Several corps of Cadets were stationed on the frontiers, and marine guards embodied in all the sea-ports, composed of young men trained up and instructed in every art necessary to their profession, by masters paid out of the public treasury.

The harbour of Toulon on the Mediterranean, constructed at an immense expence, was capable of containing a hundred men of war, with an arsenal, and magnificent store-houses. The port of Brest was formed after the same model. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace were filled with shipping; and Nature was forced at Rochefort.

In short, the King had above a hundred ships of the line, many of which were mounted with a hundred guns, and some with more. He did not suffer them to remain idle in these ports. The squadron under the command of Du-Quêne, scoured the seas infested by the Corsairs of Algiers and Tripoly. He avenged himself on Algiers by the means of a new invention, which was discovered in consequence of that active spirit which his attention to the arts had excited in all persons of genius in his age. This barbarous but ingenious contrivance was the use of bomb-ketches, by which device maritime towns might be reduced to ashes.

A young man, whose name was Bernard Renaud, (known by the appellation of *Little Renaud*) without ever having served on board a ship, became an excellent mariner by the mere force of genius and application. Colbert, who used to beckon merit from the shade, had frequently consulted this man at the Admiralty-board, even when the King was present. It was owing to the assiduity and instructions of Renaud,

that

that the French from that time were taught a more regular and easy manner of constructing vessels. He ventured to propose in Council the bombardment of Algiers from ships at sea. No one before had ever conceived the idea that a mortar could discharge its bomb to any effect, except fixed on *terra firma*. The proposition was treated as an idle theory, and he sustained all that contradiction and raillery which every projector must expect to meet with; but his firmness, and that sort of eloquence which men are generally possessed of who are strongly impressed with a conviction of their art, determined the King to permit an experiment to be made of this new invention.

Renaud had five vessels constructed, lesser than ordinary, but stronger built in timber, without upper decks, but with a false one in the hold, upon which were framed cavities to receive the mortars. With this equipment he set sail, under the command of old Du-Quêne, who was charged with this enterprize, but from which he had no hopes of success. Du-Quêne and the Algerines were equally astonished at the effect of the bombs, when they saw great part of the town beaten down, and reduced to ashes. But this art, extending to other nations, served only to multiply the calamities of mankind, and has been more than once destructive to France, for whose service it was first contrived.

The Marine being thus brought to perfection in so few years, was the effect of Colbert's assiduity; and Louvois emulated him in causing above a hundred citadels to be fortified, and building Huningen, Sar-Louis, the fortresses of Strasburgh, Montroyal, &c. While the Kingdom was acquiring such outward strength, the arts were held in honour within; pleasures and plenty every-where abounding. Paris was crowded with foreigners, who came to admire the Court of Louis XIV. whose name was known throughout all the world.

His glory and good-fortune were increased still more from the weakness of the generality of the cotemporary Princes, and the distresses of their states. The Empe-

ror Leopold was apprehensive of the Hungarian malecontents, but more so of the Turks, who, invited by them, were preparing to invade Germany. The policy of Louis made him persecute the Protestants in France, thinking that he ought to put it out of their power to hurt him, at the same time that it led him to protect, clandestinely, the recusants and rebels of Hungary, as it might tend to his advantage. His Ambassador at the Porte had pressed the armament of the Turks, before the peace of Nimeguen; but the Divan, from a singular caprice, has ever waited until the Emperor was at peace, before it emitted a declaration of war against him. The war in Hungary was not commenced until 1682; and the year afterwards the Ottoman army, amounting, as has been reported, to the number of two hundred thousand men, augmented still by a large supply of Hungarian troops, and obstructed in its course by no fortified towns, such as there were in France, nor any forces capable of interrupting its career, advanced to the gates of Vienna, after having laid all the country waste in its passage.

The Emperor Leopold quitted Vienna with precipitation, and retired to Lintz, on the approach of the Turks; and when he was informed that they had invested Vienna, he took no other measure than to retire still farther from it to Passau; leaving the Duke of Lorraine at the head of a small army, already harrassed by the Turks on its march, to sustain the fortune of the Empire as well as he was able*.

There was not then the least manner of doubt but that the Grand-Vizier Cara-Mustapha, who commanded the Ottoman army, would soon become master of Vienna, an ill-fortified city, abandoned by its sovereign, and poorly defended by a garrison, which, though nominally sixteen thousand, was not above ten thousand effective men. This was the crisis of a most dreadful revolution.

* See the extraordinary particulars of the siege of Vienna, in the *Essay on the Manners*, &c. addressed to Madame the Marchioness Châtelet. *Voltaire*.

Louis XIV. was in hopes, and with good reason, that Germany, overwhelmed by the Turks, and having no chief to oppose them but one whose flight had increased the common terror, would be reduced to apply to the protection of France. He had an army on the frontiers of the Empire, ready to defend it against those very enemies which his own intrigues had raised up against it. He might thus have become the Protector of the Empire, and procured his son to be elected King of the Romans. He had before joined a generous conduct with his political views, when the Turks had threatened Austria; not indeed by sending succours a second time to the Emperor, but by declaring that he would not invade the Netherlands, but leave it in the power of the Austrian-Spanish branch of the family to assist that of Germany, then likely to be over-matched. He demanded no other consideration for this inactivity than that he should be satisfied with regard to several doubtful Articles in the Treaty of Nimeguen, and principally respecting the Bailiwick of Alost, which had been forgotten among the preliminaries. He had raised the blockade of Luxemburg in 1682, without waiting to receive satisfaction in this point, and abstained from all hostilities during a whole year after.

But at length this generosity became exhausted during the siege of Vienna. The Spanish Ministry, instead of soothing, rather incensed him; and Louis XIV. sent an army into the Low-Countries, at the very time that Vienna was ready to surrender, which was about the beginning of September; but, contrary to all probable hopes, Vienna was rescued from its distress. The presumption of the Grand Vizier, his effeminity, his brutal contempt for the Christians, his ignorance, and dilatoriness, occasioned his destruction. It required an excess of all these faults combined, to have saved Vienna from perdition.

John Sobieski, King of Poland, had time to arrive to its relief; and with the junction of the Duke of Lorrain, had only to present himself before the Ottoman multitude, to put

them to the rout*. The Emperor returned to his capital, with the mortification of having quitted it. He just passed by as his deliverer was coming out of the church, after having sung *Te Deum*, and where the preacher had given a discourse upon this text: "There was a man sent from God, and his name was John †." We have already seen that Pope Pius V. had applied these words to Don John of Austria, after the victory of Lepanto ‡. We know, also, that many things which appear to be new, are only repetitions. The emperor Leopold was at once triumphant and humbled.

The King of France having now no further measures to keep, ordered Luxemburg to be bombarded, seized upon Courtray and Dixmude, in Flanders, took possession of Triers, and rased the fortifications. All this was to fulfil, as was said, the spirit of the Treaty of Nimeguen. The Imperialists and the Spaniards negotiated with him at Ratifbon, while he was taking their towns; and the peace of Nimeguen, thus violated, was changed to a truce of twenty years; by which the King was permitted to keep possession of Luxemburg, with the principality belonging to it, which he had just conquered.

April, 1684. He was even yet more formidable on the coast of Africa, where the French were hardly known, before his time, except by the slaves made by the Corsairs of Barbary. Algiers, twice bombarded, sent Deputies to make submission, and sue for peace. They set all the Christian slaves at liberty, and paid a mulct also instead of receiving a ransom, which is a double mortification to Pirates. Tunis and Tripoli made the same submissions.

It may not be foreign to our subject to mention the following circumstance. Damfreville was the name of the Captain of the French ship which was sent to Algiers to receive the Christian captives, in the name of

* He had defeated them twice before.

† See the *Essay on the Manners, &c.* in which the discourse is always addressed to the same person.

‡ Gained over the Turkish Fleet in 1571. *Translator.*

the King of France. After they were all aboard, some Englishmen who were amongst them, boasting to Damfreville that it was in deference to the King of England they were set at liberty; the French Captain sent for one of the Algerine Magistrates, and delivering them over to him, "These people, said he, pretend that they were not released but in the name of their own King; mine, therefore, will not presume to offer them his protection. I return them to you again, and shall leave you to settle the point with the King of England;" upon which they were all put into chains again. The pride of the English, the weakness of Charles the Second's government, and the respect of the Nations for Louis XIV. are all shewn by this story*.

And such was this universal respect, that new honours were conferred upon his Ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, particularly that of the Sofa†, even while he was humbling the people of Africa, who are under the protection of the Grand Seignior.

The Republick of Genoa humbled itself still more submissively towards him, than that of Algiers. The Genoese had sold gun-powder and bombs to the Algerines; and had likewise built four gallies for the service of Spain. The King forbid them, by his Envoy St. Olon, one of his Gentlemen in ordinary, to launch those

* I don't think that the story proves any one of these three articles. The Englishmen must have been mistaken in the point, or it would have been folly, not pride, to have sported with their liberty. The submission of the Algerines shewed only their fear, not their respect; and I do not see why Charles the Second's name is brought here into question, as no requisition had been made on his part, in this transaction. All that appears plain from the story is, the pride of the Frenchman in so highly resenting the folly or ignorance of a parcel of unhappy wretches, his inhumanity in punishing them so severely, and his insolence in daring to alter the cartel, which had been given him in charge only to see executed. At the same time, it must considerably lessen our respect for Louis the Great, that he should have acquiesced both in the cruelty and irregularity of the action. *Translator.*

† This privilege of the Sofa in Turkey, is the same with that of the Tabouret in France, a right to sit in the Presence. *Ibid.*

ships, and menaced them with immediate chastisement, if they did not instantly comply with his demand.

The Genoese, incensed at this violation of their liberties, and depending too much upon the support of Spain, made him no satisfaction. Immediately fourteen men of war, twenty galleys, ten bomb-ketches, with several frigates, set sail from the port of Toulon. Seignelai, the new Secretary of the Admiralty, whom the famous Colbert *, his father, had got appointed to this post before his death, was aboard the fleet. This young man, full of ambition, courage, wit, and activity, would be a soldier and a minister at the same time. He was covetous of every kind of glory, ardent in all his undertakings, and blended his pleasures with his business, without interruption to either. Old Du Quêne commanded the large ships, and the Duke of Montemar the galleys; both of whom were the creatures of the Secretary of State.

* John-Baptist Colbert, Marquis de Seignelai and Chateaufur-cher, Baron de Sceaux, de Lenieres, d'Ormos, Minister and Secretary of State, Commander and High Treasurer of the King's orders, Comptroller-General of the Finances, Superintendent of the buildings, arts, and manufactures of France, may be justly stiled the ablest and best Minister that any kingdom in Europe ever produced. He attached himself to Cardinal Mazarin, who favoured him with his confidence, and recommended him to the King as a man of unshaken fidelity, indefatigable application, and extensive capacity. After the Cardinal's death, Louis appointed Colbert Comptroller-General of the Finances, which were in terrible disorder; and he had all the reason in the world to be pleased with this disposition. To Colbert alone, all the glory which Louis acquired by his external wars, and internal administration, may be justly attributed. Colbert improved and established the finances in such a manner, as enabled the King to maintain armies that all Europe could not oppose. Colbert introduced and supported manufactures, extended and protected commerce, and raised the marine of France to a most formidable pitch of power. He advanced the liberal arts, by instituting academies, industriously searching after and rewarding merit; inviting artists from all parts of Europe, and gratifying them with pensions adequate to their desert. He opened a communication between the two seas, by completing the canal of Languedoc. He formed and fortified harbours; built docks and arsenals: in a word, there was not a remarkable work, either of magnificence or utility in France, that did not owe its origin to Colbert, whom we would propose as a perfect model of a minister. *Translator.*

They

They arrived before Genoa, and the ten bomb ketches discharged fourteen thousand shells into the town, which reduced to ashes a principal part of those marble edifices which had intitled this city to the name of *Genoa the Proud*. ^{March 17,} Four thousand men were then landed, who marched up to the gates, and burned the Suburb of St. Peter of Arena. It was now thought prudent to submit, in order to prevent the total destruction of the place. _{1684.}

The King exacted that the Doge of Genoa, with four of the principal Senators, should come and implote his clemency in the Palace of Versailles; and lest the Genoese should elude the making this satisfaction, and lessen in any manner the pomp of it, he insisted farther that the Doge, who was to perform this embassy, should be continued in his magistracy, notwithstanding the perpetual law of Genoa, which deprives a Doge of his dignity who is absent but a moment from the city.

Imperialo Lercaro Doge of Genoa, attended by the Senators Lomellino, Garibaldi, Durazzo, and Salvago, repaired to Versailles, in order to submit to every thing the King should require of them. The Doge, apparelled in his robes of state, his head covered with a bonnet of red velvet, which he often took off during his speech, made his submission, the very words and demeanour of which were dictated and prescribed to him by Seignelai. ^{Feb. 22,} _{1685.}

The King gave him audience, sitting and covered: but as in all the actions of his life he joined politeness with dignity, he behaved towards Lercaro and the Senators with as much graciousness as state*. The Ministers, Louvois, Croissy, and Seignelai, treated them with more haughtiness; which gave the Doge occasion to say, "The King captivates our hearts by the manner in which he receives us, but his Ministers set them at liberty again." The Doge was a man of a

* Yet with all his graciousness and politeness, there is something very disgusting in the pride and insolence of this action of Louis XIV. *Translator.*

lively wit. Every one has heard the reply he made to the Marquis of Seignelai, when he asked him what he found most remarkable at Versailles? "To see myself here," said he.

The extreme passion that Louis XIV. had for every species of parade, was still further gratified by an embassy which he received from the Kingdom of Siam, a country, which, till then, was ignorant that France had an existence. This happened through one of those singularities which prove the superiority of the Europeans above all other nations of the earth*. A Greek, named Phalk Constance, the son of a Publican at Cephalonia, chancing to be appointed *Barcalon*, that is, Prime Minister, or Grand-Vizier of the Kingdom of Siam; in order to confirm himself in his station, and perhaps with a view towards an higher one, required some foreign assistance for his purposes, but did not choose to confide in the English or the Dutch, who are dangerous neighbours in the East-Indies. The French had lately established some Factories on the Coast of Coromandel, and had transported the character of their King along with them into this extremity of Asia.

1684. Constance thought Louis XIV. a likely person to be flattered by a homage so little expected, and coming from such a distance. He made religion too, the master-spring of all earthly politics, from Siam to Paris, subservient to his scheme. He sent, in the name of the King of Siam, his master, a solemn embassy, with rich presents, to Louis XIV. informing him that the Indian Potentate, enamoured of his glory, was desirous of entering into a treaty of commerce with the French nation, exclusively, and that he was also very near becoming a Christian himself.

The greatness of the King, thus flattered, and his religion imposed upon, induced him to depute to the King

* This curious remark is perfectly in the imposing manner of our Author. In what way does this instance prove the superiority of Europe over Asia, Africa, and America? *Translator.*

of Siam two Ambassadors and six Jesuits; to whom he afterwards added a body of eight hundred infantry, properly officered and equipped. But the fame of this Siamese Embassy was all the advantage that accrued from it; for Constance fell, about four years after, a victim to his ambition: those few French who remained with him were massacred, the rest of his partisans obliged to fly, and his widow, after having been within reach of the crown, was condemned by the successor of the King of Siam to serve as one of the cooks in his kitchen, an office she was born to.

This thirst for glory, which led Louis XIV. to distinguish himself from the rest of the Kings of Europe, shewed itself again in the haughty manner with which he behaved towards the Court of Rome. Odescalchi, Innocent XI. son to a banker of Milan, was at that time on the Ecclesiastical Throne. He was a man of virtue, a sage pontiff, and, though an indifferent divine, a courageous, resolute, and magnificent Prince. He succoured the Empire and Poland against the Turks with his money, and the Venetians with his gallees; and loudly exclaimed against the conduct of Louis XIV. who assisted the Turks against the Christians.

It was remarkable that a Pope should so warmly espouse the cause of the Emperors, who stile themselves *Kings of the Romans*, and who would, if they could, reign personally in Rome. But Odescalchi was born under the Austrian sovereignty, and had made two campaigns in the Milanese army. Habit and humour govern most men.

His pride was piqued at the insolence of the King, who, on his part, gave him every kind of mortification that a King of France could possibly offer to a Pope, without separating from his communion. There had for a long time obtained an abuse in Rome, which it was difficult to remedy, because it was founded on a punctilio of which the Catholic Princes were tenacious. Their Ambassadors at Rome had extended their privileges, and the rights of asylum attached to their character, to an unreasonable extent, which they comprehended

under the denomination of *Quartier* *. These pretensions being always maintained, rendered one-half of the city a sanctuary for all manner of crimes. By another abuse, whatever was brought into Rome under the name of the Ambassadors, was exempted from duty. Commerce suffered, and the state was impoverished, under this pretence.

Pope Innocent XI. obtained, at length, from the Emperor, the King of Spain, the King of Poland, and the new King of England James II. who was a Catholic Prince, a renunciation of these unconscionable claims. The Nuncio Ranucci applied to Louis XIV. to concur with the other Kings towards the peace and regular government of Rome. But Louis being dissatisfied with the Pope, replied, "That he would never conduct himself by the example of others; it being his place rather to give, than take, example †."

Nov. 1687. He sent the Marquis de Lavardin on an embassy to Rome, on purpose to insult the Pope. Lavardin made his entry into the city, in defiance of the Pontiff's interdiction, escorted by four hundred marine guards, an equal number of volunteer officers, and two hundred men-servants in livery, all armed. He took possession of the Vatican, of its environs, and of the Church of St. Louis, about which he posted centinels, and ordered them to go the rounds, as in a garrison.

The Pope is the only sovereign power to whom such an embassy could be sent; for the authority he assumes over crowned heads, makes them ever inclined to humble him; and the weakness of his state leaves them at liberty to do so, without danger. All that Innocent XI. was able to oppose to the Marquis de Lavardin, was the worn out weapon of excommunication; arms which have now as little force in Rome itself, as they have elsewhere; but which, however, are still made use of as a

* A privileged district.

† I see nothing magnanimous in this answer. It was merely vain and insolent. He deserved to have been made an *example of*, for such a speech. But there was no spirit in the times. *Translator.*

fort of ancient ceremony, as the Pope's soldiers wear arms merely as an uniform.

The Cardinal d'Estrées, a man of sense, but often unsuccessful in his negotiations, was at that time Resident from France at Rome. D'Estrées being obliged frequently to confer with the Marquis de Lavardin, could not afterwards be admitted to an audience of the Pope, without first receiving absolution. He endeavoured to evade this form, in vain; for Innocent XI. would pronounce the words, in order still to preserve this imaginary authority by the usages on which it had been originally founded.

Louis, with the same haughtiness, but always supported by his resources of policy, would give an Elector to Cologne. Ever occupied in sowing divisions in, or making war upon, the Empire, he was resolved to elevate to this Electorate Cardinal Furstemberg, Bishop of Strasburg, his creature, the victim of his interests, and an irreconcilable enemy to the Emperor, who had imprisoned him in the preceding war, as a German who had sold himself to France.

The Chapter of Cologne, like all the other Chapters of Germany, possesses the right of nominating its Bishop, who from thence becomes Elector of course. The person who now filled this see, was Ferdinand of Bavaria, formerly the ally, but afterwards the enemy of the King; as was the case of other Princes. He was then at the point of death. The King, liberal of his money, of his intrigues and his promises, among the Canons, prevailed upon them to elect Furstemberg as his Coadjutor; and after the death of the Prince, he was again elected by a majority of the suffrages.

The Pope, by the Germanic Concordat, has the right of conferring the Bishoprick on the person elected, and the Emperor has that of confirming him in the Electorate. The Emperor and Pope Innocent XI. being convinced that it would be almost the same thing to leave Furstemberg in possession of the Electorate, as to place Louis XIV. himself there, joined their interests

to

to confer this Principality on young Bavaria, brother to the deceased.

1688. *Os.* The King avenged himself on the Pope, by taking Avignon from him, and prepared for war against the Emperor. He sued the Elector Palatine, at the same time, for the rights of the Princess Palatine, Madame, second wife to Monsieur; rights which she had herself renounced in her articles of marriage. The war waged against Spain in 1667, for the claims of Maria-Theresa, notwithstanding it was a similar renunciation, proves plainly that covenants are only regarded by private persons.

Thus did the King, in the summit of his greatness, disturb, despoil, or humble, almost all the Princes of the other States; but, in return, they almost all of them confederated against him*.

C H A P. XV.

King James dethroned by his Son-in-law, William III. and protected by Louis XIV.

THE Prince of Orange, more ambitious even than Louis XIV. had conceived such vast projects as might have appeared visionary in a Stadtholder of Holland, if they had not been supported by his courage and abilities. He resolved to humble the King of France, and dethrone the King of England. There was not much difficulty in uniting the States of Europe, separately, in a league against France. The Emperor, with a part of the Empire, Holland, and the Duke of Lorrain,

* Thus, notwithstanding the vast encomiums lavished upon Louis by the French writers, and whatever proofs he exhibited of magnificence, of opulence, of oppression and power, he shewed but very few of real wisdom or policy; for, by his rapacity, insolence and cruelty, he provoked all the States of Europe to form a confederacy against him, which stripped him of all his vain-glory, and reduced his people to indigence and misery.

What Sallust says of the latter Romans, may justly be applied to Louis XIV; *Proinde quasi injuriam facere, id demum esset imperio uti.* "And all this I can do, because I dare." *Translatôr.*

had at first contracted a secret alliance at Augsburg; Spain and Savoy afterwards joined them. The Pope, without being expressly linked in the confederacy, was, however, the political soul of it, by his intrigues. Venice assisted, without declaring openly; and all the Princes of Italy were on their side.

In the North, Sweden was at that time connected with the Imperialists, and Denmark was an useless ally to France. Above five hundred thousand Protestants, flying from the persecution of Louis, and carrying with them out of France their industry, and their enmity to the King, were a new body of enemies dispersed throughout Europe, spiring up the Powers to a war which they were sufficiently inclined to already. (We shall speak of the emigration of these Refugees, in the chapter on Religion). The King was surrounded by enemies on all sides, and had no other friend but King James.

James, King of England, successor to his brother Charles II. was a Catholic, as well as Charles, who, however, did not conform 'till towards the latter part of his life, and only then in compliance with his mistresses and his brother; and this was the more easy to him, as in reality he had no religion except that of pure Deism. His perfect indifference about all the articles which divide the minds of men, had not a little contributed towards the tranquility of his reign over England.

James, on the contrary, from his youth attached by persuasion to the Romish Communion, joined to his creed a spirit both of party and of zeal. Had he been a Mahometan, or a disciple of Confucius, the English would never have disturbed his reign upon that account; but he had formed the design of establishing Catholicism in his kingdom, which was considered by these Royal Republicans in a very alarming light, as the religion of slavery*.

It

* In Vol. III. of the Memoirs of Madame de Maintenon, in the fourth chapter, entitled, *Of the King and Queen of England*, we meet with an unaccountable jumble of fallacies. It is there said, that the follow-

It is sometimes easy enough to establish a religion in a nation. Constantine, Clovis, Gustavus Vasa, and Queen Elizabeth, introduced a new one without any danger, each by different means; but for such revolutions there are two things indispensibly requisite, a profound policy, and lucky circumstances; but both of these were wanting to James.

He was piqued at seeing so many Kings in Europe despotic; that those of Sweden and Denmark had lately

following question was proposed by the Civilians: "Whether the people have a right to rebel against the authority which endeavours to force a belief upon them?" But here the affair was quite the reverse; the English opposed the King's intension of tolerating the Roman-Catholic religion. The point in dispute was, "Whether the King had a power to dispense with the test-oath, in those whom he admitted to employments?"

The same writer says, that Pope Innocent XI. made the Prince of Orange a present of two hundred thousand ducats, to go and extirpate the Roman-Catholic religion in England.

He likewise affirms, in the same rash manner, that Innocent XI. ordered several thousand masses to be said for the Prince of Orange's success. It is well known that this pontiff favoured the league of Augsburg, but he never acted in a manner so ridiculous, and so contrary to what he owed to his dignity. The Spanish Envoy at the Hague, indeed, ordered prayers to be publicly said in his chapel for the success of the Dutch fleet, of which Monsieur d'Avaux sent advice to his master Louis.

This writer also gives us to understand, that the Count d'Avaux corrupted the members of the state; but he is mistaken here again, it was the Count d'Estrade. He is likewise wrong in point of time; this happened twenty-four years before. See Mr. d'Estrade's letter to Mr. de Lionne, dated Sept. 17, 1665.

The same author has the assurance to quote Bishop Burnet, whom he makes to say, in expressing a particular vice in the Prince of Orange, that "he was fond only of back-doors*." Now there is not a single word in all Burnet's History which bears the least resemblance to so low an expression, and so unworthy the pen of an historian; and though some compiler of anecdotes may have pretended that Bishop Burnet suffered so indecent a phrase to escape him in conversation, such an obscure testimony ought not surely to prevail against an authentic history. *Voltaire.*

* Though Burnet did not use the gross expression mentioned above, yet certain it is, he insinuated something almost equivalent, to the prejudice of William's character, by recording a scandalous report that *the King was addicted to a secret vice.* But this passage is omitted in the late editions of Burnet's History. *Translator.*

rendered

rendered themselves so; and that, in fine, Poland and England were the only nations in the world, where liberty and royalty subsisted together. Louis XIV. encouraged him to become absolute at home, and the Jesuits pressed him to re-establish their religion and their power along with it.

But he conducted himself in both these attempts with so little discretion, that he only roused a spirit of resentment in the people against him. He began, at first, as if he had already accomplished his views; entertaining publicly at Court a Nuncio from the Pope, with a number of Jesuits and Capuchins; sending seven English Bishops to prison; whom he might have gained over; infringing the Charter of the City of London, when the policy would have been to have enlarged its privileges; subverting with a high hand the laws, of which he might silently have sapped the foundation: finally, conducting himself with so little management, that the Cardinals of Rome used jestingly to say, “that he ought to be excommunicated, as one who was active for the destruction of the small remnant of Catholicism that still existed in England*.”

Pope Innocent XI. founded very little hopes on the proceedings of James, and constantly refused his Confessor Peters a Cardinal's hat, which he demanded for him. This Jesuit was an impetuous, artful man, who, giddy with the ambition of becoming a Cardinal and Primate of England, hurried his master to the brink of the precipice. The principal persons of the kingdom united in secret against the King's designs, and sent a deputation to the Prince of Orange. Their confederacy was conducted with so much secrecy and prudence, that the Court had not conceived the least idea of a defection.

The Prince of Orange equipped a fleet to transport between fourteen and fifteen thousand men †. This Prince

* M. Voltaire is a perfect Machiavel. He gives cunning advice for wicked purposes. *Translator.*

† The author of Maintenon's Memoirs asserts, that the Prince of Orange, upon the States-General refusing to grant him a supply, entered the assembly, and addressed them in this manner; “Gentlemen, there will be a war, next spring, and I desire that this prediction may

Prince was only an eminent individual, whose private fortune exceeded not five hundred thousand florins † a-year. But such was his admirable conduct in public affairs, that he had made himself intire master of the treasures, the fleets, and the confidence, of the States-General. He was King, in effect, in Holland, by his spirit and address; and James had forfeited all regal power in England, by his folly and rashness.

At first it was pretended that this fleet was destined against France. The secret was preserved inviolably by above two hundred persons. Barillon, the French Ambassador at London, a man of pleasure, and better acquainted with the intrigues of James's mistresses than with those of Europe, was deceived; but Louis XIV. was not imposed upon. He offered assistance to his ally, who then declined it, out of a weak confidence; and requested it, soon after, when it was too late, and when the fleet of the Prince, his son-in-law, was under sail.

Oct. 1688. Every thing failed him at once; but he had been first wanting to himself. He wrote to the Emperor

Leopold in vain, whose answer was, "Nothing has happened to you, but what we had foretold." He depended on his Fleet, but it suffered that of the enemy to pass by. He might have defended himself by land, at least, as he had an army of twenty thousand men; which had he led on to action, without affording them time to hesitate, would probably have fought with success; but he gave them leisure to consider and resolve.

Many of his General Officers abandoned him. Amongst these was the famous Churchill, as fatal afterwards to

be registered." In proof of this he quotes the Count d'Avaux, and says, that this Minister saw through the whole design of the Prince of Orange. It is hardly possible to jumble together falsities in a worse manner. Nine thousand sailors were ready assembled in the year 1687. The Count d'Avaux does not mention a syllable of this pretended speech of the Prince of Orange; nor had he the least suspicion of that Prince's real design, till the 20th of May, 1688. See his letter to the king, of that date. *Voltaire.*

† The Dutch florin is two shillings—fifty thousand pound, per ann.

Louis as to James, and so illustrious under the title of the Duke of Marlborough. He was a favourite with James, his creature, brother to his mistress, and a Lieutenant-General in his army; notwithstanding all which he quitted him, and went over to the Prince of Orange's camp. The Prince of Denmark, son-in-law to James, and his own daughter, the Princess Anne, both forsook him.

Upon finding himself attacked and pursued by one of his sons-in-law, and abandoned by the other; deserted by both his daughters, his natural friends; and hated even by those subjects who remained still of his party; he saw his fortune desperate; and flight, the last resource of a conquered Prince, was the only resolve he was capable of forming, without waiting the event of a battle.

Finally, after having been stopped in his flight by the populace, maltreated by them, and carried back again to London; after having tamely submitted to the commands of the Prince of Orange in his own palace; after seeing his own guards replaced by those of the Prince; banished from his house, and made prisoner at Rochester, he took advantage of the unguarded manner in which he was purposely attended there, to quit the kingdom, and seek an asylum in France.

This was the æra of true English liberty. The Nation, represented by its Parliament, drew the line, so long contested, between the prerogatives of the Prince and the privileges of the People; and having prescribed to the Prince of Orange the conditions on which he was to reign, chose him for their King, jointly with his wife Mary, the daughter of James. From this time this Prince was no longer known in the greatest part of Europe, but under the title of William III. lawful King of England, and the Deliverer of the Nation: in France, however, he was only considered as the Prince of Orange, and an usurper of his father-in-law's dominions.

The fugitive King came, with his wife, daughter Jan. of a Duke of Modena, and the Prince of Wales, yet ^{1689.} an infant, to implore the protection of Louis XIV. The Queen of England, who had arrived before her husband,

brand, was astonished at the splendor which surrounded the King of France, at that profusion of magnificence which she beheld at Versailles, and still more at the manner in which she was received. The King advanced to meet her, as far as Chatou*. "I come, now, Madam," said he, to pay you a melancholy service; but I hope soon to render you one more considerable, and more fortunate." These were his very words. He then conducted her to the Palace of St. Germain's, where she met with the same attendance as if she had been Queen of France; was supplied with every thing that convenience or luxury could require; with presents of all kinds, of gold, silver, plate, jewels, and silks.

Among these presents was a purse of ten thousand louis d'ors laid upon her toilette. The same attentions were paid to her husband, who arrived the day after her. He had six hundred thousand livres a-year established for the support of his household, besides a number of presents that were also made him. He had the King's officers and guards to attend him. All this reception, however, was nothing, in comparison of the preparations that were set on foot for restoring him to his throne.

The King never appeared so great, as upon this occasion; and James appeared as mean. Those persons of the Court or City whose opinions were thought to be decisive upon the characters of men, held him in no manner of esteem. He associated chiefly with Jesuits. He alighted at their College in St. Antony's-Street, in Paris. He told them he was a member of their fraternity, and, what is still more extraordinary, what he said was true. He had got himself associated in this Order, with certain ceremonies, by four Jesuits, when he was Duke of York.

This meanness of spirit in a Prince, joined to the manner in which he had lost his crown, rendered him so contemptible, that the Court Wits amused themselves every day in writing ballads upon him. Driven from England,

* See the Letters of Madame de Sevigné, and the Mémoires of Madame de la Fayette, &c.

he was the jest of France; nor was his being a good Catholic of the least service to him. The Archbishop of Rheims, who was brother to Louvois, said publicly at St. Germain's, in his anti-chamber, "There is a good Christian for you, who has sacrificed three Kingdoms for a Mass!"

He received nothing from Rome, except Indulgencies and Pasquinades. In short, throughout the whole of this revolution, his religion was of so little service to his cause, that when the Prince of Orange, at the head of the Calvinists, set sail to dethrone the King, his father-in-law, the Minister of the Catholic King* at the Hague directed Masses to be said for the happy success of his voyage.

In the midst of the humiliations of this fugitive King, and the liberalities of Louis XIV. towards him, it was an object worthy of attention to see James touching for the King's Evil, in the little Convent of the English Nuns; whether it is that the Kings of England arrogate to themselves this peculiar privilege, as pretending to the Crown of France; or that this ceremony had been established among them from the time of Edward the First.

The King soon sent a convoy with him to Ireland, where the Roman Catholics still formed a party that was thought considerable. A fleet of thirteen ships of the first-rate, lay in Brest road to escort him. All the Officers, the Courtiers, and even the Priests, who had followed James to St. Germain's, had their journey to Brest defrayed at the expence of the King of France. The Jesuit Innes, Rector of the Scotch College in Paris, was appointed his Secretary of State. An Ambassador, Monsieur d'Avaux, was named to attend the dethroned King, and followed him in all the pomp of his public character.

Arms and ammunition of every kind were stored aboard the fleet, with furniture and utensils, from the highest accommodations to the meanest uses. The King went to take leave of him at St. Germain's, where, as his last

* King of Spain.

gift, he presented him with his own cuirass, saying, in embracing him, "The best wish I can make for you is, that I may never see you again."

Scarcely had King James landed in Ireland, ^{May 12,} with his retinue, when twenty-three other large ^{1689.} ships of force, under the command of Chateau-Renaud, with a number of transports, followed him. This fleet having defeated and dispersed the English Navy that opposed its passage, and safely landed the troops, and on its return taken seven Dutch Merchantmen, came back to Brest victorious over the English*, and laden with the spoils of Holland.

Soon after this, a third supply set sail again from Brest, as also from Toulon and Rochefort. The ports of Ireland, and the sea of the English Channel, were filled and covered with French ships. At length Tourville, Vice-Admiral of France, with seventy-two sail of large men of war, met with the English and Dutch fleet, consisting of about sixty ships; and they had an engagement, which continued ten hours.

Tourville, Chateau-Renaud, d'Etrées, and Nemond, signalized their courage and abilities in such a manner, as reflected an honour on France which she had not been used to. The English and the Dutch, 'till then masters of the Ocean, and from whom the French had but a little time before learned the art of arranging their ships in battle-array, were entirely defeated. Seventeen of their men of war, disabled or dismasted, were run ashore, and burned by themselves. The rest retreated to the Thames, or fled towards the coasts of Holland. The French did not lose a single vessel †.

And

* Who would not imagine from this expression that the French fleet had subdued England? whereas the truth of the matter is this: The French Squadron falling in with the English fleet under Herbert, which was greatly inferior to them in number, an engagement ensued, in which there was not one vessel lost on either side; and the two squadrons seemed to part by consent. Herbert put to sea, and Chateau-Renaud retired into Bantry-bay, in Ireland. *Translator.*

† The French fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, and two-and-twenty fire-ships; whereas the combined squadrons of England and

And now, what Louis XIV. had been wishing for twenty years, and which appeared before to be so very improbable, happened at last; he had obtained the empire of the Sea. But this empire was indeed of short duration. The enemies men of war fled before his fleet. Seignelai, who dared attempt every thing, brought the galleys of Marseilles upon the Ocean; and the coasts of England now saw this kind of vessels for the first time. By this means an easy descent was made at Tynmouth, and in that bay above thirty merchant-ships were burned. The privateers of St Malo, and the new harbour of Dunkirk, enriched both themselves and the State by continual prizes. In a word, for the space of two years there was not a ship to be seen on the sea, except those of France.

King James did not second in Ireland these efforts of Louis XIV. He had with him near six thousand French; and fifteen thousand Irish. Three-fourths of the Kingdom had declared in his favour; and his antagonist, William, was absent. However, he profited nothing from these advantages. His fortune received the first check, before the little town of Londonderry. He pressed it by an obstinate but ill conducted siege, during four months. The town was defended only by a Presbyterian Elder, whose name was Walker: This preacher had set himself at the head of the armed citizens, and led them forth, as occasion served, either to pray or fight. He inspired them with hardiness to brave death and famine; and at length the Priest obliged the King to raise the siege.

This first disgrace in Ireland was soon followed by a greater misfortune. William arrived, and marched against him. The river Boyne separated their armies,

and Holland did not exceed fifty-six, so that the enemy had a superiority of twenty-two. In this engagement the Dutch lost six ships of the line; and the loss of the English amounted to two. Admiral Herbert, then Lord Torrington, was deprived of his command, and sent prisoner to the Tower, in consequence of the complaints of the States-General, who affirmed that he had sacrificed the Dutch Squadron in the engagement. *Translator.*

William undertook to pass it, in sight of the enemy. It was barely fordable in three places. The Cavalry swam over, and the Infantry waded across, with the water up to their shoulders; but on the other side they had a morass * to traverse; after which they were opposed by a steep ascent, that formed a sort of natural intrenchment. King William overcame all these obstacles, brought up his forces in three columns, and gained the battle.

The Irish, whom we have seen such good soldiers in France and Spain, have never deserved that character in their own country †. There are among nations, some which seem formed to be subject to others ‡. The English have always had over the Irish a superiority in genius, in opulence, and arms §. Ireland has never been able to throw off the English yoke, since it was conquered by a single English Nobleman ||.

The French stood their ground at the battle of the Boyne, but the Irish gave way, and were put to the

* Hibernicæ, a bog. *Translator.*

† This shews they are not *Dunghill-Cocks*, at least, Mr. Voltaire. *Ib.*

‡ What a hazarded position is here! The Cappadocians themselves were not *naturally* formed to be slaves; and if not *naturally* so, the argument can borrow no force from occasional contingency. Such an expression could never have escaped from Montesquieu's pen. *Ibid.*

§ M. Voltaire here seems to impute these advantages to the English, as if they were *natural* ones, and to reproach the Irish with the *accidental* disadvantages they have laboured under of circumstances, situation, and oppression, as if these were natural too. But the same *ipse dixit* would serve to prove the superiority of Englishmen themselves over their own countrymen, by comparing the County of Middlesex with the Shire of York. *Ibid.*

|| With what contumely does this same *hap-bazard* historian speak of the poor Irish! "Conquered by a *single*, or, as the French is, a *simple* Nobleman." Would not one imagine that he was speaking here of *Quinbus Flestrin* towing away the whole *Blesuscun* fleet with a twisted packthread? But the real story was briefly this: The nation was divided against itself. Two of its Kings, of which there were five, happened to be at variance with each other, and one of them called in Henry II. to his aid. M. Voltaire does not name the Nobleman, to whom *singly*, or *simply*, he attributes this mighty feat; but I suppose he must mean Richard Strongbow, Earl of Strigul, afterwards Chepstow, because he happened to command the first party of the English that landed, and afterwards married the Irish King's daughter. *Ibid.*

rouit.

roul. Their King, James, who appeared not in the engagement, either at the head of the French or of the Irish, was the first to retreat; and yet he had ever before given proofs of personal valour: but there are times when a depression of spirits may become an overmatch for courage*.

King William having had his shoulder grazed by a cannon-ball before the battle, was reported to be dead, in France. This piece of false intelligence was received in Paris with an indecent and shameful rejoicing. Some of the subaltern Magistrates encouraged the citizens and populace to light bonfires on the occasion. The bells were set a ringing, and in many parts of the town were burned straw-images, designed to represent the Prince of Orange, as they burn the Pope, on some occasions, in London. The cannon of the Bastile were also fired, not by the King's order, but through the indiscreet zeal of the Commandant.

It might be imagined, from all these tokens of joy, and upon the credit of a number of writers, that such extravagant rejoicings upon the supposed death of an enemy, were the effect of the great terror with which he had inspired them †. All those who have written upon this subject, both French and Foreigners, have said, that these marks of festivity were the highest eulogium that could be made on King William. However, if one considers the circumstances of the times, and the spirit which then predominated, he must plainly see that it was not fear which produced those transports of joy. The citizens and populace are not apt to dread an enemy,

* There are such characters in life, of men with valiant hearts, but coward minds, Turenne, under whom he served, spoke handsomely of him; and Marlborough, upon hearing the courage of King James questioned, said, "No, my old Master was *personally brave*; but wanted the best part of a soldier, *resolution*." *Translator*.

† And such imagination was right, notwithstanding M. Voltaire's invidious and disingenuous manner of solving the appearances. He certainly must have been an object of dread, as well as of aversion, to France, both to its religion and state; as Generalissimo of Holland; King of England, and head of the Protestant league. They were ashamed of their hasty joy, and gave this turn to it, afterwards. *Ibid.*

unless he is at their gates. So far from being impressed with terror at the name of William, the common people of France had the injustice to despise him. He had been generally defeated by the French Generals; and the Vulgar were incapable of judging how much true glory this Prince had gained even in his defeats. William, conqueror of James in Ireland, appeared not yet to the eyes of the French an enemy worthy of Louis XIV. Paris, idolatrous of its King, absolutely believed him to be invincible.

Those rejoicings, then, were not the effect of fear, but of hate. The major part of the Parisians, born under the reign of Louis XIV. and inured to despotic rule, regarded a King at that time as a Divinity, and an Usurper as guilty of sacrilege. The common people, who had seen James go every day to Mass, abominated William as an heretic. The idea of a daughter and a son-in-law driving their father from a throne, of a Protestant reigning in the place of a Catholic, in a word, of an enemy to Louis XIV. transported them to a degree of fury; but the wiser sort behaved themselves with more moderation.

James returned to France, leaving his competitor to win more battles in Ireland, and to establish himself on the throne. The French Fleets were then occupied in bringing back the French troops which had fought in vain, and the Irish Catholic families, who being stripped of every thing in their own country, chose to go and subsist in France on the liberality of the King.

It is believed that what is called Fortune, had very little part in this revolution, from first to last. The characters solely of William and James effected the whole. Those who love to trace the sources of events in the conduct of men, may remark, that King William, after his victory, proclaimed a general pardon; and that King James, after his defeat, in passing through a little town, named Galway, hanged up some of the Citizens, who had advised the shutting their gates against him. Of two men acting in such different manners, it was
an

an easy matter to foresee which was most likely to prevail.

There still remained, however, some towns in Ireland, which held out for James; among which was Limerick, garrisoned with above twelve thousand men; and the King of France, still supporting the fortune of James, sent over three thousand regular troops to its assistance. To this service he added the further liberality of supplying every thing necessary both to the forces and the relief of the numerous inhabitants of the city. Forty sail of transport ships, convoyed by twelve men of war, carried over all possible succours of men, utensils, and accoutrements; engineers, gunners, bombardiers, with two hundred masons; saddles, bridles, and housings, for above twenty thousand horse; cannon, with their carriages; muskets, pistols, and swords, for twenty-six thousand men; besides provisions and shoes.

Limerick, though besieged, being thus provided with every thing sufficient for its defence, expected to see its King draw his sword upon that occasion. But James appeared not, the town surrendered, and the French ships made a second voyage to Ireland, to bring back to France above twenty thousand Irish soldiers and inhabitants.

What is, perhaps, more extraordinary, is, that Louis XIV. was not discouraged by all these fruitless attempts. He had a heavy war to sustain, on his own part, against the greatest part of Europe; and yet he strove still to reverse the fortune of James by one decisive action, and to make a descent in England with twenty thousand men. He had assembled them between Cherbourg and La Hogue*. Above three hundred transports were ready to receive them at Brest. Tourville, with forty-four men of war, kept cruising ^{July 29,} off the Coast of Normandy, to escort them, and ^{1692.} D'Etrees arrived from the Port of Toulon, with thirty ships more.

* Two sea-ports in France, on the coast of Normandy. *Translator.*

If there be some misfortunes which are owing to bad conduct, so there are others which arise merely from bad fortune. The wind, which was at first favourable to D'Etrees's Squadron, happened to change; which put it out of his power to join Tourville. His forty-four ships were attacked by the united fleets of England and Holland, which consisted of about a hundred sail. Superiority of numbers carried the day, and the French were obliged to yield, after an engagement of ten hours. Russel, the English Admiral, pursued them for two days. Fourteen large ships, two of which mounted a hundred and four guns each, were run ashore, and the Captains set fire to them, to prevent their being burnt by the enemy *. King James, who saw this disaster, standing on the shore, saw at the same time all his future hopes swallowed up in the waves.

This was the first check which the fortune of Louis XIV. had received by sea. Seignelai, who, after Colbert, his father, had brought the Navy of France to its height, had died towards the latter end of 1690. Pontchartrain, who from the post of first President of Brittany, had been raised to the office of Secretary of State for the marine department, suffered it not to decay. The same spirit reigned still in the administration. France had, the very year after the disgrace at La Hogue, as large a fleet at sea as she had before; for Tourville was at the head of threescore ships of the line, and d'Etrees commanded thirty; besides those that remained in In 1696. harbour. And even four years after, the King fitted out an armament, more considerable still

* The English historians say the French fleet amounted to sixty-three ships of the line, and that a greater number of the French than of the English were engaged. Certain it is, Russel's own ship disabled the *Rising Sun*, a ship of one hundred and four guns, commanded by Tourville in person. She was burned by Sir Ralph Delaval, near Cherbourg, together with the *Admirable*, another first-rate, and the *Cosquerant*, of eighty guns. Eighteen other great ships of the French fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports laden with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp. *Translator.*

than any of the former ones, to convoy James over to England, at the head of twenty thousand men. But this fleet only just shewed itself; for the measures of James's party in England, were as ill conducted, as those of his protector were well planned in France.

There was now no resource left for the partisans of the dethroned King, but in conspiracies against the life of his rival. Almost all those who engaged in these plots, suffered capital punishment; nor was it believed that, even had they succeeded, he would have recovered his kingdom again. He passed the remainder of his days at St. Germain's, where he was maintained by the bounty of Louis, and a pension of seventy thousand livres, which he was mean enough to accept privately from his daughter Mary, in whose favour he had been dethroned.

He died in the year 1700, at St. Germain's; and some Irish Jesuits pretended that miracles were performed at his tomb*. They even talked at Rome of canonizing after his death, a Prince whom they had abandoned during his life.

Few Princes were more unhappy than James; and there is no instance, in history, of any family being unfortunate for such a length of time. The first of his ancestors that was King of Scotland, whose name was likewise James, after being detained prisoner in England eighteen years, was assassinated, with his queen †, by the hands of his own subjects. James II. his son, was killed, at nineteen years of age, fighting against the English ‡. James III. after being imprisoned by his subjects, was slain by the rebels in an engagement. James IV. perished in a battle which he lost. Mary Stuart, his grand-daughter, driven from her throne, and a fugitive in England, after having languished eighteen years in a

* It was ridiculously pretended that his reliques had cured the Bishop of Autun of a fitula. *Voltaire.*

† The queen was only wounded, and recovered. *Translator.*

‡ He was killed by accident, at Roxburgh. *M. Voltaire writes often without book. Ibid.*

prison, saw herself condemned to death by English Judges, and lost her head on a scaffold. Charles I. grandson of Mary, King of Scotland and England, was sold by the Scotch, sentenced to death by the English, and died on a scaffold before the eyes of his people. James, his son, the seventh of his name in Scotland, and the second in England, who is our present subject, was driven out of his three kingdoms; and, to add to his misfortune, even the legitimacy of his son was disputed. This son, in attempting to regain the throne of his ancestors, only brought his friends under the hands of the executioner; and we have since seen Prince Charles-Edward, uniting in vain the virtues of his forefathers and the courage of King John Sobiesky, his grandfather by the mother's side, performing exploits and suffering misfortunes almost incredible *.

If any thing could justify those who believe in an unavoidable fatality, it would be the continued succession of misfortunes which have befallen the House of Stuart during the space of above three hundred years.

* M. Voltaire is the first historian that ever made a hero of him. He might have said the same of him as he does of his father, in the sentence before, and neither more or less. *Translator.*

C H A P. XVI.

Of what passed on the Continent while King William was invading England, Scotland, and Ireland, till the year 1697. The second burning of the Palatinate. The Victories of the Marshals Catinat and Luxemburg, &c.

NOT being willing to interrupt the chain of the affairs relative to England, I now return to what passed on the Continent.

The King, while he was thus forming such a naval force as was never exceeded by any other state in Europe, had to contend with the Emperor and the Empire; Spain, the two maritime powers of England and Holland, both become more formidable under one head*, Savoy, and almost all Italy. One alone of these enemies, England or Spain, was formerly sufficient to have ruined France; but all together now were not able to make the least impression upon her.

Louis XIV. had almost constantly five armies on foot during the course of this war, sometimes six, but never less than four. The troops in Germany and Flanders often amounted to the number of a hundred thousand effective men. The frontier places were not, however, left ungarrisoned. The King had four hundred and fifty thousand men in arms, including his marine forces. The Turkish Empire, so powerful in Europe, Asia, and Africa, never had so many; and even the Roman Empire had not more, nor had it ever so many wars to sustain at any one time. Even those who blame Louis XIV. for having made himself so many enemies, admire him for the measures he took, not only to defend himself, but to prevent attacks.

These enemies had not yet either intirely declared themselves, or united together: the Prince of Orange had not yet set sail from the Texel to drive his father-in-law into exile, when France had her armies upon the

* William III.

frontiers

frontiers of Holland and on the Rhine. The King had sent his son, the Dauphin, who was stiled *Monseigneur*, into Germany, at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men. This Prince was mild in his manners, modest in his behaviour, and seemed to be the very counterpart of his mother. He was then about twenty-seven years of age. This was the first time he had ever been intrusted with a command, after his character had afforded sufficient assurance that he would not make an ill use of it. The King said publickly to him on his departure, “ My son, in deputing you to command my armies, I furnish you with an opportunity of proving your merit. Go and display it before all Europe; so that when I die, it may not be perceived that the King is no more.”

Sept. 22,
1688.

The Prince had a special commission given him for the command, as if he had been merely one of the Generals whom the King had chosen for the campaign. His father used to address his dispatches “ To our son the Dauphin, our Lieutenant-General, commanding our armies in Germany.”

All matters had been so provided and disposed beforehand, that the son of Louis XIV. whose name and presence was to contribute to the eclat of this expedition, might not suffer any kind of disgrace. Marshal Duras was in effect the Generalissimo. Boufflers had a body of troops on this side the Rhine, and Marshal d’Humieres another towards Cologne, to watch the motions of the enemy.

Heidelberg and Mentz were taken. The siege of Philipsburg, which is always the first manœuvre in a war with Germany, was commenced. Vauban conducted the siege, and all the articles not included in his department were intrusted to Catinat, then Lieutenant-General, a man capable of every thing, and formed for all kinds of business.

Monseigneur arrived at the Camp six days after the trenches were opened. He imitated the conduct of his father, hazarding his person only where it was necessary,
but

but not rashly; affable to every one, and liberal to the soldiery. The King was sensible of a perfect satisfaction in having a son who copied without excelling him, and who rendered himself beloved by every one, without giving cause of fear to his father.

Philippsburg was taken in nineteen days; Nov. 11,
 Manheim in three; Franckendal in two; and 1688.
 Spires, Triers, Worms, and Oppenheim sur- Nov. 15,
 rendered as soon as the French presented 1688.
 themselves before their gates.

The King was determined to make a desert of the Palatinate, as soon as these towns were taken. His design in this was to cut off the means of subsistence from the enemy, rather than to take revenge of the Elector Palatine, who was guilty of no other offence than having done his duty, in uniting with the rest of the Empire against France. An order was sent to the army from Louis, signed Louvois, to reduce the whole country to ashes.

The French Generals, who could not refuse obedience, gave notice, in the very midst of winter, to the citizens of all those flourishing and well-built towns, to the inhabitants of the villages, and to the Lords of above fifty castles, to quit their dwellings, as every thing was immediately to be destroyed by fire and sword. Men, women, old people and children all fled away with the utmost precipitation. February,
1689
 Some wandered about in the fields, and the rest took shelter in the neighbouring countries; while the military, who are generally quick to execute and exceed commands of rigour, and slow to obey those of clemency, burned and pillaged their country. They began with Manheim and Heidelberg, the residence of the Elector, whose palaces were destroyed with as little remorse as the citizens houses. Even tombs were broke open by the rapacity of the soldiers, who expected to have found some concealed treasures there; and the ashes of the dead were scattered in the air.

This was the second time that this fine country had been laid waste by Louis XIV. But the flames with which Turenne had burned two cities and twenty villages

rages of the Palatinate, were but sparks in comparison of this last conflagration. All Europe beheld this action with horror. The Officers who executed the command, were ashamed of being the instruments of such barbarities, The blame was thrown upon the Marquis de Louvois, become more inhuman from that callousness of heart which a long ministry is apt to produce. He had, indeed, given such advice; but Louis had it in his power not to have followed it. If the King had been a witness of this spectacle, he would himself have extinguished the flames. But he signed the order at his palace of Versailles, in the midst of his pleasures, for the destruction of a whole country, because he saw nothing in such a command except his power and the unhappy right of war; tho', had he viewed the scene, He would have considered nothing but the horror of it. The nations of Europe, who till then had only blamed his ambition while they admired it, now exclaimed against his cruelty; and all condemned his politics: for should the enemy ever penetrate into his dominions, as he had done into theirs, they would reduce his towns to ashes, in turn.

This danger was to be apprehended. Louis, in covering his frontiers with one hundred thousand soldiers, taught Germany to make the same efforts. This country, being better peopled than France, might be able to raise larger armies: They have more difficulty, indeed, in levying, assembling, and paying them; and they are longer before they take the field: but their strict discipline and patience under fatigues make them at the end of a campaign, as formidable as the French are at its beginning. The Duke of Lorraine, Charles V. commanded them, This Prince, though still kept out of his dominions by Louis XIV. had preserved the Empire for Léopold, and rendered him conqueror over the Turks and Hungarians. He now came, with the Elector of Brandenburg, to balance the fortune of the King of France. He retook Bonn and Mentz, two towns that were very badly fortified, but defended in a manner which was esteemed a model for the defence of places. Bonn did not surrender till after
a siege

a siege of near four months, and after Baron d'Asfeld, who commanded there, was mortally wounded in a general assault.

The M^{ar}quis d'Uxelles, afterwards Marshal of France, a most prudent and wary General, had made dispositions so admirably contrived for the defence of Mentz, that his garrison suffered hardly any fatigue in the great service it performed: besides the care he took to provide for every thing within, he made one-and-twenty sallies upon the enemy, and killed above five thousand of their men. He sometimes made one or two sallies in a day: in short, he defended the place seven weeks, and surrendered at length only for want of powder.

This defence deserves a place in History, both on account of its own merit, and the manner in which it was received by the Public. Paris, that immense city, whose indolent inhabitants pretend to judge of every thing, and who have so many ears and tongues with so few eyes, looked upon d'Uxelles as a timorous person, and deficient in judgment. When this man, on whom every good officer conferred just praise, after his return from the campaign, went to the play-house, the populace hooted him, and cried out *Mentz*; upon which he was obliged to retire; not without heartily contemning, as every wise man must do, a people who are such bad judges of merit, but whose praise, nevertheless, is so much the object of ambition.

About the same time, Marshal d'Humieres was beaten at Walencourt*, on the Sambre, in June, the Netherlands, by the Prince of Waldeck; but this check, though it injured his reputation, very little affected the French arms: Louvois, whose crea-

* The Prince of Waldeck, who commanded the Dutch army, was reinforced by eleven thousand English, under the Earl of Marlborough. Marshal d'Humieres attacked the foragers at Walencourt, and an obstinate engagement ensuing, was obliged to retreat in confusion, with the loss of two thousand men, and some pieces of artillery. Meanwhile, a little army of observation, commanded by the Prince de Vaudemont, levelled part of the French lines, on the side of Courtray, and raised contributions in the territories of France. *Translator.*

ture and friend he was, found himself under the necessity of taking from him the command of his army. Another General was to be sent in his room. The King chose Marshal Luxemburg, against the inclinations of his Minister, who hated him, as he had done Turenne. "I promise you," said the King to him, "that I have had some pains to make Louvois act rightly. I have obliged him to sacrifice to the good of my service the enmity he bears to you. You are to write only to me; your letters are not to pass through his hands *." Luxemburg then commanded in Flanders, and Catinat in Italy. Marshal de Lorges defended himself very well in Germany. The Duke of Noailles had some success in Catalonia †; but under Luxemburg in Flanders, and Catinat in Italy, there was a continual succession of victories. These two Generals were at that time esteemed the greatest in Europe.

The Marshal Duke of Luxemburg, in some parts of his character, resembled the Great Condé, whose pupil he was; a fiery genius, a prompt execution, a quick discernment, a mind eager for knowledge; but too extensive and irregular; continually engaged in female intrigues, always in love, and even sometimes beloved, though deformed and ill-favoured; having more of the qualifications of a hero; than of a wise man.

‡ Catinat had an application and activity in his disposition, that made him capable of every thing, though he never piqued himself upon any one particular qualification: He would have been as good a Minister, or a Chancellor, as he was a General. In the earlier part of

* Memoirs of Marshal Luxemburg. *Voltaire.*

† His success in that country was but small. He had, indeed, reduced Campredon in the month of May; but he was afterwards obliged to withdraw the garrison, dismantle the place, and retreat to the frontiers of France with great precipitation. *Translator.*

‡ We may perceive, by Madame de Maintenon's Letters, that she was no friend to Marshal Catinat. She appears to have a very indifferent opinion of him, and calls his modesty *pride*. It would seem, that the little knowledge which this Lady had of men and business, and the bad choices she made, contributed not a little to the misfortunes which afterwards befel France. *Voltaire.*

his life, he practised in the law; but quitted that profession at the age of twenty-three, because he lost a cause in which he had justice on his side. He then went into the army, and was at first an Ensign in the French guards. In the year 1667, at the attack of the counterescarp of Lisle, he performed an action in the presence of the King, which required both understanding and courage. The King took notice of him; and this was the beginning of his good fortune. He rose by degrees, without making any interest; a philosopher in the midst of war and grandeur, those two fatal rocks to moderation; exempt from all prejudices, without the affectation of appearing to despise them too much; a stranger to gallantry and the arts of Courts, but a sincere friend, and an honest man. He lived an enemy both to self-interest and vain-glory, and was a philosopher in every thing, in his death as well as in his life.

Catinat commanded at that time in Italy, where he was opposed by Victor-Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, who was a wise, politic, but still more unfortunate Prince; a warrior of remarkable courage, who always led his own armies, and exposed his person like a common man: no one better understood that shifting kind of war which is carried on in a mountainous and uneven country, such as his was: he was active, vigilant, a lover of order, but sometimes guilty of errors, both as a Prince and a General. He is said to have committed one in the bad disposition he made of his army before that of Catinat. The French General took advantage of his mistake, and gained a complete victory over him in sight of Saluces, near the Abbey of Stafarda, from which that battle took its name. When there are a number of men killed on one side, and hardly any on the other, it is a certain proof that the army which is beaten, was drawn up on a ground where it must necessarily be overpowered. The French had only three hundred men killed, and the allied army, commanded by the Duke of Savoy, above four thousand. After this battle, all Savoy, except

Aug. 19,
1690.

cept Montmelian, submitted to the King. Catinat then
 1691. marched into Piedmont; forced the enemy's
 entrenchments near Susa; took that town, to-
 gether with Villafranca, Montalban, Nice, deemed im-
 pregnable, Veillano, Carmagnola, and returned after-
 wards to Montmelian, of which he made himself master
 after an obstinate siege.

After all these successes, the Ministry lessened the
 army which he commanded, and the Duke of Savoy
 augmented his. Catinat, inferior in numbers to his
 conquered enemy, remained a long time upon the de-
 fensive; but at length having received a reinforcement,
 he descended the Alps, towards Marfail, and
 Oct. 4, there gained a second pitched battle, which was
 1693. the more glorious, as Prince Eugene of Savoy
 was then one of the enemy's Generals*.

At the other extremity of France, towards the
 Netherlands, Marshal Luxemburg gained
 June 30, the battle of Fleurus; and, by the confession
 1690. of all the Officers, this victory was entirely
 owing to the superiority of genius in the French Ge-
 neral over Prince Waldeck, who commanded the allied
 army. Eight thousand men taken prisoners, six thou-
 sand killed, two hundred stands of colours, the cannon,
 the baggage, and the flight of the enemy, were suffi-
 cient proofs of the victory †.

King William was just returned back from his victory

* In this battle the Duke of Schomberg, son to him who fell at
 the Boyne, was mortally wounded, fighting gloriously at the head of
 a body of Vaudois in the pay of Great-Britain. In the preceding cam-
 paign, Catinat had been obliged to abandon Piedmont, when the
 Duke of Savoy penetrated into Dauphiné, and filled all the south of
 France with consternation. Had he prosecuted his success, he might
 have reduced Lyons, and all the towns in that neighbourhood; but
 he was seized with the small-pox, and supposed to be soothed into
 forbearance by the intrigues of the French Ministry. *Translator.*

† This victory, got by a great superiority of numbers, was dearly
 purchased. The Dutch infantry fought with surprising resolution.
 The Duke of Luxemburg owned with surprize, that they had sur-
 passed the Spanish foot at the battle of Rocroy. "Prince Waldeck
 " (said he), ought always to remember the French horse; and I shall
 " never forget the Dutch infantry." *Ibid.*

Over his father-in-law. This great genius, ever fertile in resources, made more advantage of a defeat of his party, than the French often did of their victories. He had been obliged to have recourse to intrigues and negotiations, to procure men and money sufficient to oppose to a King who had only to say, "I will."

Nevertheless, after the defeat at Fleurus, he came to oppose Marshal Luxemburg with an army as strong as that of the French. Sept. 19,
1691.

They each consisted of about eighty thousand men; but Marshal Luxemburg had already invested Mons, when King William thought the French had hardly left their winter-quarters. Apr. 1691.

Louis himself came to be present at the siege, and entered the town the ninth day after opening the trenches, in sight of the enemy's army; after which he returned to Versailles, and left Luxemburg to dispute the field during the whole campaign, which ended with the battle of Leuse; a very singular action, in which twenty-eight squadrons of the King's household troops, with the gendarmerie, defeated seventy-five squadrons of the enemy's army. Sept. 19,
1691.

The King next repaired to the siege of Namur, the strongest place in the Netherlands, both by its situation, which is at the confluence of the Sambre and the Meuse, and by its citadel, which is built on rocks. He took the town in eight days time, and the castles in twenty-two; while the Duke of Luxemburg prevented King William from passing the June,
1692.

Mehaigne, at the head of eighty thousand men, to raise the siege. After this conquest Louis returned again to Versailles, and Luxemburg still continued to make head against the forces of the enemy. At this time the battle of Steinkirk was fought, celebrated for the art and courage displayed upon that occasion. A spy, which the French General had in the army of King William, was discovered, and compelled, before he was led to execution, to write a false information to Marshal Luxemburg; who, immediately upon the receipt of this intelligence, took such measures as must probably occasion

occasion his defeat. His army was attacked at day-break, while every one was asleep in their tents, and a brigade put to flight, before the General was apprised of it. Without the extremest activity and bravery, all would have been lost.

It is not enough to be a great General to prevent a defeat; it likewise requires well-disciplined troops, capable of rallying; General Officers sufficiently skilful to recover the troops from their disorder, and well disposed to do so; for a single Officer of rank, who is inclined to take advantage of the general confusion to cause his General's defeat, might easily do it without exposing himself to a detection.

The Marshal was then ill; a fatal circumstance, at a time when uncommon activity was required; Aug. 3, 1692. but the danger restored him to his strength.

It required prodigies not to be overcome, and he performed them. He changed his ground, gave a field of battle to his army which before had none, recovered the right wing, which was all in disorder, rallied his forces three times, and three times charged at the head of the household troops; and all this in less than two hours. He had with him in his army Philip, Duke of Orleans, then Duke of Chartres, afterwards Regent of the kingdom, a grandson of France, who was then not above fifteen years old. He could be of no service for a decisive stroke; but it contributed not a little to animate the soldiers, when they saw a grandson of France, a mere boy, charging at the head of the King's household troops, and, though wounded in the fight, returning again to the charge.

A grandson and grand-nephew of the Great Conde both served in this army as Lieutenant-Generals. One of these was Louis of Bourbon, called *Monsieur the Duke*, and the other Francis-Louis Prince of Conti, both rivals in courage, wit, ambition, and fame. Monsieur the Duke was of a more austere disposition, and had perhaps more solid qualities, and the Prince of Conti more brilliant ones. Being both called by the public voice to the command of armies, they earnestly longed

longed for that honour, which, however, they never obtained; because Louis, who knew their ambition as well as their merit, never forgot that the Prince of Condé had made war against him.

The Prince of Conti was the first who recovered the army from its confusion, by rallying some of the brigades, and making the rest advance. Monsieur did just the same, without standing in need of emulation. The Duke of Vendôme, grandson to Henry IV. was likewise a Lieutenant-General in this army. He had served ever since he was twelve years of age; and though he was then above forty, had never yet commanded in chief. His brother, the Grand Prior, was by his side.

It was necessary that all these Princes should put themselves at the head of the King's household troops, with the Duke de Choiseul, in order to drive a body of English from an advantageous post, on which the success of the battle depended. The French household and the English guards were the best troops in the world. The slaughter was great; but the French, animated by the croud of Princes and young nobility who fought about the General's person, at length carried the post. The regiment of Champagne defeated King William's guards, and when the English gave way*, the rest were obliged to yield.

Bouffiers, who was afterwards Marshal of France, flew with a body of dragoons from his station, at some distance from the field of battle, and completed the victory. King William, after having lost about seven thousand men, retired in as good order as he had attacked; and always beaten, and always formidable, he still kept the field. This victory, which was owing to the valour of the young Princes and the flower of the

* The Prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded the attack on the side of the allies, with a body of British, Danish, and Dutch troops, finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, sent an Aid-de-Camp twice to demand succours of Count Solmes, who headed the center; but that Officer derided his distress, saying, "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will make." In this battle, the Earl of Angus, General Mackay, Sir John Lamer, Sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant British Officers, lost their lives. *Transl.*

robility of the kingdom, produced an effect at Court, in the City, and in the Provinces, that no former successful battle had ever done.

Monsieur the Duke, the Prince of Conti, M. de Vendôme, and their friends, on their return home from this campaign, found the roads lined with people, whose acclamations and expressions of joy were carried even to a degree of madness. The women all strove to attract their regards. The men, at that time wore lace-cravats, which took up some time and pains to adjust. The Princes having dressed themselves in a hurry, threw these cravats negligently about their necks. The ladies wore handkerchiefs made in this fashion, which they called *Steinkirks*. Every new toy was a *Steinkirk*. Any young man who happened to have been present at this battle, was looked upon with delight. The populace followed the Princes, every where in crowds, and they were the more beloved, because the reception they met with at Court was not equal to their merits.

It was in this battle that the young Prince of Turenne, nephew to the hero, who was killed in Germany, lost his life. He had already given hopes that he would have equalled his uncle. His sense and accomplishments had rendered him dear to the City, to the Court, and to the Army.

The General, in giving an account to the King of this memorable battle, scorned to mention the circumstance of his being ill when he was attacked*.

The same General, with the same Princes, and the same troops, which, though surprised, were victorious at *Steinkirk*, the ensuing campaign attempted to surprise King William, by a forced march of seven leagues, and came up with him at *Nervinde* †, a village on the *Layette*, within a few leagues of *Brossels*. William had

* This was truly noble. His courage was insensible of the imbecility during the action, and his spirit scorned to make a merit of it afterwards. Such characters render the reading of history pleasant. *Transl.*

† This action the English distinguish by the name of the *Battle of Handa*. King William made great efforts of courage and perseverance; but the original disposition of his troops was so erroneous, that when *Luxemburg* observed it, he cried out, "Now I believe that *Waldeck* is really dead." *Ibid.*

time to entrench himself during the night, and to put his army into order of battle. They attacked him at break of day, when they found him at the head of the regiment of Rouvigny, composed entirely of French Gentlemen, which the fatal revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the *Dragonnades** had forced to quit and hate their country. They revenged upon her the intrigues of the Jesuit La Chaise, and the cruelties of Louvois. William, followed by a body of men so animated, overthrew the first squadrons that opposed themselves to him. At length he was overthrown himself, falling under his horse that was killed; but he was soon extricated, and continued the battle with the greatest obstinacy.

Luxemburg entered the village of Nervinde twice, sword in hand. The Duke de Villeroy was the first who leaped into the enemy's entrenchments. The village was twice taken and recovered.

At Nervinde also, Philip Duke de Chartres shewed himself a grandson worthy of Henry IV. He charged thrice at the head of a squadron; which being repelled, he found himself in a hollow way, surrounded on all sides with men and horses killed or wounded. A squadron of the enemy came up, and called out to him to surrender. They seized him: he defended himself singly against them, wounded the Officer who held him prisoner, and disengaged himself. His party flew to his relief, and rescued him from his danger. The Prince of Condé, who was called *Monsieur the Duke*, and the Prince of Conti, his emulator, who had signalized themselves so greatly at Steinkirk, fought here likewise for their lives, as well as for their glory, and were obliged to kill their enemies with their own hands; which rarely happens now a-days to General Officers, since fire-arms decide every thing in battles.

Marshal Luxemburg distinguished and exposed himself more than ever. His son, the Duke of Mont-

* A sort of military service, so called in France, employed by Louvois and La Chaise to terrify the Huguenets from quitting Mother Church. *Translator.*

morency, stepped before when he saw a pistol presented at him, and received the wound aimed at his father. At length the General and the Princes retook the village a third time, and won the battle.

Few actions were ever more bloody. There were about twenty thousand men killed; twelve thousand on the side of the Allies, and eight thousand of the French. It was upon this occasion said, that there was more reason to sing *De profundis* * than *Te Deum*.

If any thing can soften the horrors which attend on war, it is what Count Salm said, when he was wounded and a prisoner in Tirlmont. Marshal Luxemburg paying great attention to his situation, "What a nation are ye!" said the Prince: "There are no enemies more formidable in a battle, nor more generous friends after a victory."

All these battles gained much glory, but few great advantages. The Allies, though defeated at Fleurus, Steinkirk, and Nerveinde, had never been completely routed. King William always made masterly retreats; and in a fortnight after the loss of one battle, it was found necessary to fight another with him, to be master of the campaign.

The Cathedral of Paris was filled with the colours of the Allies. The Prince of Conti called Marshal Luxemburg "the Upholsterer of *Nôtre Dame*." Nothing was spoken of but victories. However, Louis XIV. had before conquered one-half of Holland and Flanders, and all Franche-Comté, without fighting a single battle; and yet now, after the utmost efforts, and the most bloody victories, they had scarcely got footing in the United Provinces; they could not even lay siege to Brussels.

Sept. 1 and 2, 1692. Marshal de Lorges had likewise on his side gained a considerable battle near Spirebach, and had even taken the old Duke of Wirtemberg prisoner, and penetrated into his country; but, after having entered it as a conqueror, he was obliged to quit it again. Monseigneur took and plun-

* A hymn sung in the funeral-service in the Roman Catholic Churches. *Translator.*

dered the City of Heidelberg a second time; which the enemy had retaken; but afterwards was obliged to act upon the defensive against the Imperialists.

Marshal Catinat, notwithstanding his victory at Staffarda, and the conquest of Savoy, could not prevent the Duke of Savoy from making an irruption into Dauphiné; nor, after his victory at Marsail, could he save the important city of Casal.

In Spain, the Marshal de Noailles also gained a battle on the banks of the Ter; he took Gironne and some small places; but his army was ^{May 27,} weak, and he was obliged, after his victory, ^{1694.} to retire from before Barcelona. The French, everywhere victorious, but weakened by their successes, had an hydra to engage in the Allies, that was continually rising up afresh. France began to find it difficult to raise recruits, and still more so to procure money. The rigour of the season, by which the fruits of the ^{1691.} earth were at that time destroyed, brought on a famine. They were perishing for want, while the kingdom resounded with *Te Deums* and rejoicings. The spirit of confidence and superiority, which had been the soul of the French troops, began visibly to diminish. Louis XIV. no longer appeared at their head. Louvois was dead, and they were much discontented with Barbesieux, his son: finally, the death of Marshal Luxemburg, under whom they ^{January,} thought themselves invincible, seemed to put ^{1695.} an end to the rapid victories of the French.

The art of bombarding maritime towns with ships, now turned upon its inventors: not that the infernal engine with which the English attempted to burn St. Malo, and which was wrecked without producing its intended effect, was of French contrivance. Machines of this kind had been a long time attempted in Europe. It was the art of throwing bombs with as much certainty from a moving vessel as from the solid ground, that the French had invented; and it was by this art that the English had from their ships bombarded the towns of Dieppe, Havre-de-grace, St. Malo, Dunkirk, and Calais.

July, 1694, and 1695. Dieppe, as being the most easy of access, was the only place which suffered any real damage. This town, which is now so delightful on account of the regularity of its buildings, and which owes its beauty to its misfortune, was almost reduced to ashes. There were not above twenty houses beaten down and burnt in Havre-de-Grace by the bombs; but the fortifications of the place were entirely destroyed. In this sense it is that the medal struck by the Dutch is true, notwithstanding so many French Writers have inveighed against its falsity. In the *exergue* we find these words in Latin: *The harbour of Havre burnt and destroyed, &c.* This inscription does not say that the town was burnt, which would have been false, only that the harbour was burnt, which is true.

Soon afterwards the French lost Namur, which they had taken. The nation had lavished encomiums on Louis XIV. for having conquered this place, and raileries had been thrown out, as well as indecent ballads printed, against King William, for not having succoured it with an army of eighty thousand men*. William at length became master of it, by the same manner in which it had been lost. He attacked it in the face of an army much stronger than his own, was at the time that Louis XIV. laid siege to it. He now met with new fortifications of Vauban's raising. The French garrison which defended this town was an army of itself; for while they were preparing to invest it, Marshal Boufflers found means to throw himself into it, with seven regiments of dragoons; so that Namur was not only defended by sixteen thousand men, but was daily in expectation of being relieved by an army of an hundred thousand.

Marshal Boufflers was a man of great merit; an active and diligent General, and a good Citizen, who had no-

* See Boileau's Ode upon this subject, and the Historical Fragment of Racine. "Experience," said the latter, "has convinced the Prince of Orange how vain the attempt is to oppose any achievement that the King conducts in person." *Voltaire.*

After this read Prior's Ode on the retaking of Namur, which will have the better effect, if compared with Boileau's, *Translator.*

thing

thing so much at heart as the welfare of the service, to promote which he valued neither his pains nor his life. The Marquis de Feuquieres, in his Memoirs, accuses him of several faults in the defence of the place and citadel; and even blames his conduct in the defence of Lille, by which he gained so much honour. Those who have written the history of Louis XIV. have servilely copied the Marquis de Feuquieres in military matters and the Abbé de Choisi in private anecdotes. They could not know that Feuquieres, who was an excellent Officer, and perfectly well versed both in the theory and practice of war, was of a disposition as morose as discerning, the Aristarchus, and sometimes the Zoilus of Generals*. He alters facts, to have the pleasure of censuring faults; he complains of every one, and every one of him. It was said he was the bravest man in Europe, because he slept in the midst of a hundred thousand enemies. His merit not having been rewarded with the staff of Marshal of France, he employed his great parts too much against the servants of the State, which would have been extremely useful, had he been as conciliating and candid; as he was discerning, active, and brave.

He charged the Marshal de Villeroi with a greater number of faults, and more essential ones, than he had imputed to Boufflers. Villeroi, at the head of fourscore thousand men, was to have relieved Namur; but even had the Marshals Villeroi and Boufflers done every thing, generally speaking, that might have been done (which is very seldom the case), the situation of the ground was such, that Namur could not be relieved, and must be taken sooner or later. An army of observation posted along the banks of the Meuse, which had prevented King William from bringing up his succours, now necessarily prevented Marshal Villeroi from doing the same.

Though Marshal Boufflers, the Count de Guiscard, Governor of the town, the Count de Laumont du Châ-

* The first denied some verses in Homer to be his, and the other abused those that were. *Translator.*

telet, commandant of the infantry, and all the officers and soldiers in the place, defended it with remarkable obstinacy and bravery, it retarded the capitulation only two days. When a town is besieged by a superior army, when the works are well carried on, and the season favourable, they can judge nearly within what time it will be taken, be the defence ever so vigorous. King William at length made himself master of the town and citadel, though not in so short a time as Louis XIV. had done.

Sept.
1695.

The King, while he was thus losing Namur, bombarded Brussels; an useless revenge which he took upon the Emperor for his towns that had been bombarded by the English. All this occasioned a war equally ruinous and fatal to both parties.

One of the effects of human activity and frenzy, for these two centuries past, has been that of not confining the havock of war to our own continent of Europe. We drain ourselves of men and money to destroy one another in the farther parts of Asia and America. The Indians, whom we have compelled by force or artifice to admit our settlements amongst them; and the Americans, from whom we have wrested their Continent, after having dyed it with their blood; look upon us as the foes of human kind, who come from the farthest part of the globe to butcher them, and afterwards to massacre one another.

The French had no other Colony in the East Indies than that of Pondicherry, which had been formed by Colbert with great pains, and at an immense expence, and from whence no considerable advantage could be drawn for several years. The Dutch easily made themselves masters of it, and thus destroyed the trade of the French in the East Indies, almost in its infancy.

1695. Our plantations in St. Domingo were destroyed by the English; and one of the Breſt privateers laid waste theirs at Gambia, on the coast of Africa. The privateers of St. Malo carried fire and sword into the eastern part of Newfoundland, of which they were in possession; and our squadrons insulted their Island of Jamaica,

Jamaica, took and burnt their shipping there, and ravaged the coast.

Pointis, commander of a squadron of our ships of war, and some privateers of America, sailed as far as the line, and surpris'd the town of Carthagena, the magazine and mart for the Spanish treasures which come from Mexico. The damage he did ^{May,} _{1697.} there was computed at twenty millions of our livres, and the booty he got at about half that sum. There is always some deduction to be made from such calculations, but none from the grievous calamities occasioned by these glorious expeditions.

The Dutch and English merchant-ships were every day a prey to the French privateers, and especially to Du-Gué Trouin, a man singular in his way, and who wanted only a good fleet to have acquired as great a reputation as Dragut or Barbarossa.

John Barth was also famous among the Corsairs: From a common failor he arrived to be a Commodore, as well as Du-Gué Trouin. Their names are illustrious still.

The enemy had less to be taken. Our trade was greatly impaired by the death of Colbert and the war.

A general misery then was the result of these expeditions by sea and land. Those who delight more in humanity than politics may observe, that in this war Louis XIV. took up arms against his brother-in-law the King of Spain; against the Elector of Bavaria, to whose sister he had married his son the Dauphin; and against the Elector Palatine, whose country he burnt, though Monsieur, his brother, was married to the Princess-Palatine. King James likewise was driven from his Throne, by his son-in-law and his own daughter. Since that time we have seen the Duke of Savoy in league against France, where he had one daughter a Dauphiness, and against Spain, where another was Queen. Most of the wars between Christian Princes are, in some sort, civil wars.

The most criminal enterprize in all this war proved the only truly fortunate one. William was perfectly successful

